

INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INA

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CORRIGENDA

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„	91	„	26	„	CORPS	for	<i>Corporation</i>

Book 1

Currents
And
Cross-Currents



After an original drawing by Ratan Thakur

Sirajuddoulla



After an original drawing by Ratan Thakur

Tipu Sultan



By Courtesy Phoni Gupta

Nana Sahib



By Courtesy Phoni Gupta

Tantia Topi

THE FIRST PHASE (1798-1856)

INDIA had been gradually conquered by the British not because the different sovereign Powers of India were not united, the main cause of their defeat was that the Indian States and peoples were not separately or unitedly strongly organized in the military sense of the term. Their army lacked the 'modern' weapons and were not trained in the 'modern' system of warfare. Their liberal attitude allowed the adventurous merchant groups of Europeans to consolidate themselves in the Indian soil. The faction among the Indian sovereign powers of course created field for almost unobstructed entrance of those white men particularly represented by the British people, the shrewdest of all. The sovereigns in India, who sought self-aggrandizement or protection with the help of the Europeans had not the foresight that a handful of merchants would establish an octopus-like power which would gradually grab all of them into its clutches. These little 'white communities' from Europe appeared so insignificant and non-chalant that they did not dream of any necessity of united action against them. On the contrary, they employed those foreign mercenary troops to their own end without realizing that this well-trained and well-armed people by the dint of their organization, shrewdness and military capabilities and armed strength would push their very employers down to the subordinate position.

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When actually the Indian sovereigns realized to their expense the great and far-flung design of the British Company people, they were too late. During the beginning of the eighteenth century, this realization of the menace of the British Power came into the minds of some of them, not to all. This phase began with some individual Indian rulers fighting for the retention of their territorial integrity, generally not with patriotic or national spirit. They fought wars against the British, which were more personal to themselves than anything else. Nevertheless this was the age when personal interest was on the process of getting mingled with patriotic spirit which laterly developed.

This phase began with Lord Wellesley's assuming charge of the Government in 1798.

Tipu Sultan of Mysore, realizing the British intention of grabbing his territory, decided to consolidate his power to meet their planned and premeditated military advance.

As there was dispute between the Travancore ruler and Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore, which was a matter between themselves, gave a pretext to the British to poke their nose in that affair with a clear imperialist motive. They suddenly proved themselves as an ally to Travancore, and readily declared war against Tipu Sultan. Here again the British diplomacy was at work. There were private arrangements with Nizam and Peshwa that all conquests would be divided equally among the confederates. The early attempts of British invasion tragically failed; on the third time they were successful. The Sultan was forced to accept,

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hard terms from the British ; half of his dominion was lost ; a ransom of thirty lack was exacted and two of his sons were taken as hostage.

Tipu could not forget this. He waited for the chance. It was not merely a personal grudge, it was not only the question of liberation of the lost Mysore territory, the Sultan tried and organized his power with a view to oust the British from the Indian soil, if possible. He was in 'intrigue' with the revolutionary government of France, had correspondence with Napoleon, and designed an offensive attack upon the British.

The British Governor General got all this information, apprehended the Sultan's growing strength and his collaboration with the French people as he actually appointed Frenchmen in his army.

The diplomatic British at once made alliance with Nizam and together invaded Mysore to crush Tipu Sultan to end before the latter could himself attack.

After terribly fighting a defensive war Tipu Sultan lay dead inside the breach in the walls of Sreerangapatam ; his kingdom was divided between Nizam and British, the rest of the territory was assigned to a Hindu Chief whose descendant still rule the land as a feudatory Prince.

Since the final defeat of Tipu Sultan, the Company's Government became the strongest power in India, and to establish its supremacy it resorted to the tactics of 'subsidiary alliance' which involved subordination of independent Indian rulers to the British Raj. But this policy could not be smoothly carried out. Particularly the Maratha Chiefs stood in arms

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against this encroachment, inflicted many a time heavy defeat upon the British army in battles, though gradually they were weakened and some of them finally subjugated by the latter.

1805 is the memorable year when the Jats defended not only their fort at Bharatpore, but repulsed the British attempt to storming the fort, which was a crushing defeat on the latter's part.

During this time, the Indian rulers proved individually their helplessness before the mighty British Power. They realized the necessity of united front against this foreign aggression ; but it was too late. Many Indian States were reduced to small fragmanted territories, which had neither resources nor man-power to fight the Britishers individually ; and because of British watch and interference they could not be united either. But the rulers' minds everywhere were seething with discontent.

In the year 1806 this discontent found violent expression through the first armed revolution against the British domination, though it remained localised. This the British historian call Mutiny of Vellore. But actually it was a rebellion organized under the leadership of Tipu Sultan's sons, who were forced to reside at Vellore. Vellore is situated outside Mysore, not far off. The Mysore discontents were seeking a chance to bid for power again. With that purpose in view thousands of imigrants from Mysore gathered around Vellore and the locality who received sympathy and support of the local people. The Indian troops of the British army residing in that quarters

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felt the atmosphere, while, they themselves were also prepared to strike the British might so far concentrated into that area. The result, according to British account, 113 Europeans including fourteen officers, were massacred.

Again in 1808, yet another rebellion known as Travancore Rebellion occurred. The disgusting interference of the British Raj into Travancore affairs led to this trouble. The insurgents were led by the Minister of the Raja of Travancore ; they attacked the British Resident, murdered a surgeon and thirty-three privates of a British regiment and there was left not a single Britisher to provoke them by his presence for a long time. Of course these risings were all put down afterwards ; nevertheless, these were expression of discontent of the Indian ruling classes against the British domination and interference.

Since the beginning of the 18th century, the British in India felt that the Indians were not so tame as they expected. Everywhere in India there was strong desire to throw away the yoke of British domination and those who were still free, became too careful, engaged on strengthening their army, and rarely sought British help in their own affairs, for they now realized well what that 'help' ultimately meant. But the British could not do without 'helping' the Indians !

Of course there were some renegades still who sought their help. But in general, there was seething unrest, and acute anti-British feeling.

Lord Hastings, who took over the charge of the

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Government in 1813, found as the British wanted to find 'Seven different quarrels likely to demand the decisions of arms'. One of his quarrels was with the Nepalese. The Nepalese proved themselves a very difficult enemy. They not only did not care the British, they occupied two hundred villages outside the Nepalese border. So hostilities broke and began in October 1814. But until February, 1816, no decision came about of the war. After many a tragic setback on the part of the British army in spite of so many "brilliant" plans and campaigns and great loss of life the war resulted in peace, the British admitting Nepal's independence, and assurance given that they would not disturb them (the Nepalese) henceforward. Nepal from its side ceded some territory to the British Raj.

The political consequence of the Nepalese war was tremendous. The Britisher's glaring failures during the most part of the war 'excited every court in India and raised hopes of the expulsion of the foreigners. Ranjit Singh moved troops towards the Sutlej. Amir Khan, the leader of the rising Pathan bands in Rajputana watched events with a force of 30,000 men and 125 guns, while the Maratha Chiefs, the Peshwa, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, Sindhia, Holkar all began to arm. If the jealousies of these powers had permitted their effective combination at the right moment, the Governer General had not the force to withstand them. But the Company's *ikbal* or good luck prevailed, the effective combination did not take place, and each of hostile powers was overcome in due course.' This is a quotation from Vincent

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Smith's history, who wrote things from the British point of view, which is yet a clear admittance of the precarious position of the British Raj in the face of an Indian combination, though that was loosely made.

The tragedy is that the effective combination did not take place ; jealousies, geographical difficulties, military inefficiency prevented sucessful union. But it was at least the just way of effective realization of the Indian rulers that united action would bring about the expulsion of the foreigners. It was the first realisation that in unity lies freedom of India as a whole and at the same time, of the each of the units.

The most important of those fighting units were the Pindaries. It`was an army organized under Amir Khan. Its members were drawn from all classes of people consisting of Hindus and Mussalmans. The majority of the army men were Pathans and Marathas. The ablest leader of the Marathi. counterpart was Chittu, a Marathi himself. They joined into bands of light horse-men, lived on main supports given by neighbouring rulers and Chiefs, the other means being exacting toll upon rich men throughout the territories extended from Gujrat to Ganjam. They administered no government ; but were organized and disciplined, though there were some instances of cruelty on parts of some individual groups, which is an unavoidable evil with all army organizations. They were in close alliance with the Government of Sindhia and Holkar, and connected with the Maratha army.

This was an army organized with a view to establish a new government in India in alliance with

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the Marathas. It is a nefarious suggestion from the British historian's point of view that such an organized army like the Pindaries, which came into being during the struggle between Shivaji and Aurangazeb, and which had consequently grown enormously in number and strength, continued so long to carry on the business of pillaging and ravishing of women as their pastime and purpose.

The fact is that it was an independent army without a territorial basis. For its maintenance it sometimes resorted to looting, but it existed for a definite purpose, the establishment of a new government. The Pindaries in course of time, found that the British stood as the greatest obstacle in the realization of their aim. It was why Amir Khan, according to Vincent Smith, watched the events of the Nepalese war; he was waiting for the chance to swoop down upon the British at their weakest moment.

The interesting thing is that to suppress those bands of dacoits and looters, an army was employed, a force, 'the largest ever collected up to that time under the British flag in India, was provided with 300 guns and comprised about 13,000 Europeans'—again to quote Vincent Smith. The Pindaries were an army supported by the central Indian States and principalities which were subordinated by the British Raj through the instrument of subsidiary alliance. They could not strengthen their own individual army on that reason and laid all their indirect and secret supports to the Pindaries, an independent army, which owed allegiance to nobody. On the contrary it grew in strength to fight solely the

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British Raj, whose overthrow was so earnestly desired particularly from Maratha quarters. It is why the Marathas swelled that army being encouraged by the Maratha chiefs. Besides them, the Rajputs also joined the army on the same reason. The attack upon the Pindaries meant to a great extent, attack upon the cherished hopes of the Marathas who were bidding for power. So it naturally led to the general uprising of the Maratha rulers excepting the Sindia and Gaekwar, who remained apparently neutral.

The first great united war against the British Raj was fought during the Pindary war in which Maratha interests were merged. The Company's *ikbal* prevailed. The Marathas were subdued and the Pindaries were crushed. Some of them were given states and estates, allowances and inducements and things were settled in favour of the British Raj. The resentment however did not die down ; on the contrary it went on growing. The subdued, though not all, waited for another chance. The chance came in 1857, within the range of thirty years. Seething unrest and preparation for an outburst was in the making during this pereiod. The British did not realise it. Considering themselves now quite secured and established, they had now chosen to extend their prong of invasion beyond the frontier of India ; their next victim was the Burmese.

The reason advanced was that 'an adventurer, named Alaugnpra founded an aggressive dynasty in Burma (1752-60); he and his successors extended their conquest into Assam, Cachar and Manipur and threatened the British forntier districts of Sylhet and Chittagong. The

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Burmese had unbounded conceit of themselves and went so far as to require the Marquis of Hastings to surrender Eastern Bengal including Dacca and Murshidabad. In 1824 their defiant seizure of a British outpost compelled Lord Amherst to declare war, which the Burmese awaited with eager confidence.'

The great General of the Burmese was Bandula, who was the hero of the Burmese war. It took full two years for the British to subdue the Burmese, who inflicted many crushing defeats upon the British expeditioners supported by thousands of Madras Sepoys at their disposal.

The British authority wanted to utilise two Bengal Armies for the Burmese invasion; but the members of the armies refused to go overseas. At Barrackpore near Calcutta, they definitely showed mutinous attitude. 'So overnight two European regiments were brought to the spot. The Sepoys were paraded and ordered to march or ground arms. They did neither. The Europeans opened fire on them. No resistance was made, numbers were killed, the ring leaders were executed and remainder sent to work in irons' (Innes—The British in India). Yet the Bengal army won its point, it did not follow the British; none other Indian Sepoys than Madrasis were in the Burmese expedition.

Now about the Burmese war : I do not want to go into details about it in this book. Bandula had started on his invasion of Bengal; Chittagong had suffered disaster in his hand, but he was called in Burma in order to deal with a counter-invasion in Pegu. In

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Burma too, his army fought brilliantly ; but because of lack of modern arms of the time they had to lose the war. For armed deficiency, they occasionally resorted to 'scorched earth policy,' which always proved disastrous to the British expeditionary forces. Their sponsoring of 'fifth column activities' in Burma also was fully at work by which they were successful to bring about split in the Burmese leading section. To the Burmese misfortune Bandula was killed in action in April 1825 which broke the very back-bone of the Burmese army. However, the imposed peace was signed after a full year in February 1826. The British undoubtedly became victorious, but to the British 'it was not very glorious and particularly was an expensive war.' The weakness of the British Raj which was exposed in the prolonged Burmese War, again raised hope in the Indian mind.

At that time there were some trouble regarding the possession of the throne of Bharatpore, a Jat principality, between two cousins. The British with their own end in view, supported one of them which was a child, and threatened Durjan Lal, the other cousin who deposed the child ruler. For the 'sake of duty and promise', the British thought it wise to storm the Bharatpore fortress, which baffled the British troops completely in 1805.

The ruler of Upper India, 'deluded by the belief that Burma was exhausting the entire British resources were surprised by the appearance of an Army of 20,000 men' to quote an English historian.

The quotation is significant: 'The |Princes of

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Upper India' had the delusion! Then it was not a singular affair of Bharatpore!

Bharatpore finally fell before the 'science of British Engineers' which was known impregnable for years together.

I should quote the English authority again which speaks of the resultant despair of the Indians. 'The achievement (fall of Bharatpore) was more convincing to the native mind than all the successes of the Pindari Campaigns, and removed all remaining inclinations to challenge the supremacy of the British arms.'

But they, vigorously challenged that supremacy after twenty five years which almost eliminated the very life and existence of the British in the Indian soil.

This gap of twenty five years found no revolution within the British territory. Nevertheless there was no peace in India. At first the British carried on some minor extension. But in 1838 with a pretext of the Russian menace, the Governor General sent an expedition to Afganisthan, thinking that the best way to check Russia was to support Shah Suja, a deposed and unwanted Afgan ruler. At that time Dost Muhammad was the king of Afganisthan. The British attacked and occupied Khandesh, Gazni and Kabul with great difficulty. Dost Muhammad surrendered and Shah Suja was enthroned. Afgans did not want him. In 1841 there was a rising. In January 1842 the entire Kabul force of 15,000 men was utterly destroyed excepting one Dr. Brydon and a few men left to convey the news.

Now the British rage fell upon the poor Amir of Sind for his 'dissatisfactory' conduct during the Afgan

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war. So Sind was annexed in 1843 after not a very easy War. The Amir and his supporters fought bravely. The British victory, too, followed by many popular rising was supported by mutinous Sepoy regiments, which broke into open fight in that year.

In 1843 there was fight between the Gwalior Troops and the British army. The British could not like that the Gwalior army should grow threateningly strong, as appeared to be so, as it forced the British Resident to withdraw from Gwalior.

Inevitable result : two great battles and final victory to the British.

Then began the Sikh wars. After the death of Ranjit Singh there were chaos, intrigue and indiscipline in the Punjab political and military life. This was a British chance to expand into the Punjab. So they prepared for that and placed a huge army at Mudkee close to the Punjab border.

But the Sikhs got scent of it. They crossed the Sutlej and inflicted a heavy defeat upon the British army at Mudkee.

Then followed battles after battles within two months, resulting final victory to the British Raj. The Punjab of Ranjit Singh was now reduced to almost subordinate position. Kashmir, part of the Sikh empire was sold by the British to one Gopal Singh, an upstart chief, at 75 lac of rupees only.

Now, Lord Dalhousie came as the Governor General in January, 1848. The gentleman also fought two great wars, the second Sikh war of 1849, and the Burmese war of 1852.

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Mulraj, Governor of Multan did not like the British. He enjoyed practical independence, so the British did not like him. They sent two British officers to take over the charge of Multan. The officers were attacked and murdered. This was the signal of revolution that quickly spread over the whole of the Punjab. The British got Multan which was gallantly defended. At Chilliawala they got a bloody set-back, lost tragically many other battles. But the inexhaustible reserve of the British with Indian resources and manpower brought them final victory. The Punjab was annexed to the British territory.

In 1852 'the arrogance of the king of the Burma, who committed various outrages on British subjects, refused redress and deliberately insulted the officers deputed to demand it.' This was sufficient for Dalhousie to declare war against Burma. Consequently expeditions, victory and no treaty, because, the Court of Ava declined to negotiate. Now Burma became fully a British dominion.

But without war too this gentleman knew how to annex the States and Principalities of India which were not yet directly brought into British domination. This he did through his notorious 'Doctrine of Lapse' Many States and Principalities were in 'subsidiary alliance' with the British Government started by Lord Wellesley. Lord Dalhousie's first step to bring the States one by one to full British dominations was that, in case an Indian Prince die without issue the sovereignty of the States lapses to the paramount power.

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This principle, he first applied in case of Satara, a Maratha State. Subsequently this was applied in the cases of Jhansi, Nagpur and some other small States.

Nana Sahib of Bithor was the adopted son of Baji Rao and was getting an allowance of 8 lac of rupees granted by Lord Hastings. Dalhousie crudely applied his doctrine of lapse principle in his case also and refused to pay him this sum.

For Dalhousie there were other pretext for annexation too. A part of Sikkim was taken for the Raja's ill-treatment of one Dr. Hooker and another officer.

Now Oudh, a rich plain, had to be taken and was taken. Cause : misgovernment and appalling state of things in the country 'which formed an ample moral basis for the decision to annex.'

Lord Dalhousie was a very successful Governor General the Company have ever produced but his success was the direct cause of the Sepoy Revolution which followed soon, threatening the very existence of the British power in India.

The British still remained. Their *ikbal* saved them. But the Company's Government of India was eliminated.

I call this period 1798-50 as the first phase of the Indian War of independence. In this phase a large number of Indian States fought for the defence of their territorial independence and rights and when lost, they fought for regaining of their independence again. It was the Indian Chiefs who fully realised the British menace mainly, but the people who fought against the British, fought for their Chiefs only.

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The uprising and united actions were carried out by the Chiefs followed by their supporters.

The national spirit was not in the process of growing still; the people did not fully realise what subject life meant. An Indian soldier served his master generally as mercenary without caring to know who his master was. A Britisher or a Maratha Chief was all the same to him. They were masters, and the soldiers had to serve them on payment. The people in general wanted peace. The 'Pax Britanica', which may modernly be described as Churchill's 'Imperial Shield' gave them in places protection from pillage and looting. They felt security there without knowing how they were economically and spiritually exploited.

The first phase of the Indian war of independence was rather a phase of scattered outbursts of unlinked peoples, generally local, and union ever made, was loose. Along with other causes described before, it was due to the main fact that the Indian people lacked patriotic spirit. It is mainly through the exploitation of the Indian man-power, the British supremacy was established throughout India, and those who fought the British were the aristocracy in the main. They were not thinking of the independence of India as a whole, but the independence of their own territories and vindication of their own rights. The common interest and purpose led to the union in action against the British power, but there was no co-ordinated action, no ideological affinity among the different Chiefs, not to speak of the soldiers and the people.

The thing that was going strong among the leading

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people was British-hatred as they had their personal grievances which needed vindication.

There were endeavours for establishment of new powers too, that was also with personal end. The unity, which was sometime effected, was therefore not solid. But at that stage of history, we cannot expect more than that. Their struggle for independence and power at that stage of history was heroic and commendable. They started the war of independence rather unknowingly though fragmentarily and incoherently in most cases. But when some of them once united, though loosely, developing into the Pindari-cum-third Maratha War, it was only the Company's fortune that saved the British power in India from breakdown.

That early operation through united action showed that in union lies the strength.

There are other insurrections prior to the Sepoy Revolution worth mentioning. There were local risings at Saharanpore, Delhi districts, Meerut and Muradabad and in Poona during 1820-30. In 1831-33 the Kols rose in Behar. In 1844 the Sawantwadi uprising demanded 10,000 British-Indian troops to suppress the recalcitrants.

In 1843, a combination of Rajas of Kangra, Jaiswall and Datarpur, Wazir of Nurpur, all influenced by Bedi Bikram Singh, a descendant of Guru Nanak, declared that the British rule had ceased, and led a revolution.

These were all revolts of the local chiefs, who began hating the 'white men' having no wider basis,

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so were readily suppressed. Their hatred was more racial than political, and very unfruitfully sporadic and local.

Since 1789, upto 1856, the Adibashis of Chhotanagpur area, the aborigines, fought for their jungle freedom and economic rights. Their armed revolt found periodical expression in 1794, 1811, 1817, 1820, and 1830. Lastly the Santhal Insurrection of 1815, when 30,000 of them armed with spears, bows and arrows organized a march towards Calcutta. They were to oust their exploiters, the British and their Indian agents. Poor fellows with bows and arrows, but what revengeful! Soon ten thousand of Santhals lay dead before the mighty arms of the British Raj.

The Adibashi-uprisings originated from the economic exploitation of people from outside. The British were not their chosen enemy. They hated their Indian agents too. This uprising had no political significance of wide Indian scale.

THE SECOND PHASE

THE REVOLUTION OF 1857-59

THE second phase of the Indian War of Independence began with what the British call 'the Sepoy Mutiny.' They advance some convenient causes for this, most of which are silly and some have something to do with the immediate reasons of some sporadic outbreak signifying the revolution. They say, the cartridges which were used in new Enfield guns in 1857, had been considered by the Sepoys as greased with animal fat, which those religiously fanatical Indians resented very much.

This may be an incidental cause of outbreak in some Sepoy regiment; but the deeper and wider causes were not there. Yet this incident had an ideological aspect. It was rank and file, those who come from the people, showed that fanaticism. Any way, it was a matter of religious sentiment; but the sentiment found political expression through the mutiny. This was a political revolt in one aspect on religious ground. This revolt broke out from among the people. The revolution of 1857 was not organized by Rajas or Nawabs, the titular Moghul Badshah of Delhi did not dream of organizing it. It was a spontaneous uprising. Of course, latterly the leadership was taken mainly by Chiefs and capable men from aristocracy; but that devolved upon them. And during that time some or other Chiefs who

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had personal grievances against the British thought about the matter almost impersonally and they united not to fight for their own rights and interests but to oust the British who were their common enemy. For the first time, the Indian Chiefs began to realize that they were under an exploiting alien rule. Yet the gap between the people and the Chiefs was not bridged. There was no people's programme excepting the fighting British rule which the people, who had the taste of it, disliked. The people did not realize what they fought for excepting that they had to drive out the British.

Yet there was growing sign of patriotism solely inspired by British-hatred ; but national spirit was not at work. They wanted liberation from the British domination but not liberation in its fullest sense. They had no programme.

The trouble began with incendiary fire at Barrack-pore near Calcutta which broke out in January, 1857. It was a signal and a pre-arranged thing. At Berhampore in Bengal and at Amballa in the distant Punjab, the first sign of the revolution was expressed through incendiaries in cantonment areas, and this was done almost simultaneously. Refusal of the Sepoys to use the grease was the first stroke of defiance and nothing more than that for those regimental people, as some of them genuinely believed that the purity of their caste was endangered. However crude it looked it was that spiritual protest against one of the four-fold exploitations of the British Raj, which the Congress defined many years after.

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It was only incidental affairs confined to a few regiments. The greater part of India was politically prepared for a great revolution, the process of which began many years earlier. People believed in a prophecy that in 1857, which would complete hundred years of British rule in India, would also mean their quitting this country through an impact of a great revolution. The prophecy may be unscientific, but the sepoys particularly liked to believe in it wishfully, for, in their heart they wanted termination of the alien rule.

The sepoys, coming from the people who had direct test of the British masters and who had arms and ammunitions at their disposal, broke out first, civil people supporting them. The decisive out-break occurred at Meerut on May 10, 1857. Indian regiments broke out, murdered the British and set off for Delhi.

They made a victorious march to that great city, occupied it, and tendered their allegiance to the titular Moghul Emperor Bahadur Shah.

Now it was definitely an insurgent organization, having the right of belligerency. The mutiny of the sepoys no longer remained a mutiny, it was a revolution now. The civil and the military Indians now actively joined in the fight for the elimination of the British Raj. Every regiment between Allahabad and the Sutlej had mutinied and in most districts of the United Provinces Civil Government ceased to exist.

On June 27, 1857, the British regiments at Cawnpore surrendered to the insurgents headed by Nana Sahib, who was latterly accused of massacring the European prisoners including their women and children, who were

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also taken prisoners. This Nana Sahib had never been in the Indian Army of the British Government. He had personal grievance against the British injustice. Lord Dalhousie deprived him of his allowance which he was getting for a long time. Besides he suffered many humiliation at the British hands. He sent his agent Ajimulla to England to plead for his cause with the British authority there. It proved no helpful. Ajimulla who had a good time with the English women, came back with the information that the British as a people were as good and bad as they were. There were nothing extraordinary, they had many vices and weaknesses too and as a political power they were not so big as the Indian thought of them. He also informed Nana Sahib the tragic setback the British lately received in the Crimean War. He came back to India some years before the outbreak of the revolution. With him as adviser, Nana Sahib started on intriguing how to overthrow the British power in India. Most of the Central and Upper India rulers who suffered at the high-handedness of Dalhousie, joined in private alliance with Nana Sahib, and all of them waited for the chance and occasion. The chance came with the sepoys' outbreak.

Nana Sahib took the chance of Cawnpore revolution. The massacre, which is doubtful if it were due to his order, was a thing of personal grievance. Besides this incident, the insurgents showed an amazing sign of restraint in their dealings with the British women and children. This they did throughout the whole turbulent period

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The inevitable result of the fall of Cawnpore led to the inevitable capture of Lucknow which remained in the rebel hand for many months. The Residency defended by a large number of Europeans and loyal Indians was in a state of siege.

Series of mutinies occurred throughout Upper and Central India and U. P. excepting the Punjab proper. The Gwalior Contingent in Sindhia's service, officered by the British, mutinied on June 14, 1857, the Sindhia however apparently remained loyal.

At Jhansi the Mutineers massacred the British. The revolution was immensely successful in Oudh. Insurrections took place in Behar too. The revolutionary army supported by Sepoys was led by Raja Kanwar Singh of Jagdishpur. His forces occupied Arrah for sometime. There were no mutiny in south of Narbada, but people and army in the Nizam's State became rebellious, but not the Nizam and his ministers. So they remained in check. In Maharashtra proper, 'the soldiery whether sepoys or local levies declared against the British without making any very active movements'. The Sikhs not only remained loyal, but provided numerous levies for the suppression of the revolt and Bengal which showed immense revolting spirit remained comparatively loyal to the British Raj.

The Gwalior insurgents proved themselves very actively aggressive under the leadership of Tantia Topi, the ablest leader the mutineers produced. He crossed the Jamuna river with his army where Nana Sahib's forces joined him, but British were by that time stronger and re-inforced. After strenous effort they succeeded

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to routine the combined rebel forces.

Gradually the stronger British force took the offensive role; they re-occupied Cawnpore, Lucknow and Delhi and marched towards the west, towards the rebel-held positions in Central India. Jhansi was such a position. The young Rani of Jhansi commanded a large army which remained behind the rampart. The British troops sieged that fort. Tantia Topi came forward to raise the sieged from outside with a very small army which he still commanded. Again he was ousted by the overwhelming British-Indian troops; all his guns were captured. The Rani of Jhansi evacuated the fort by the night of April 3. The fort of Jhansi fell in the British hand.

Yet the rebellion was very active in Oudh at that time. The whole civil population was at war with the British. 'The result was a very prolonged and a very trying period of active guerilla warfare and some heavy fightings.' At length this rebellion in Oudh was also suppressed.

Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi did not yet lose heart, though they knew the insurgent power was waning. They wanted to fight to the last.

Both of them appeared before Gwalior in June with a large army. The people and the army received them enthusiastically. Sindhia who sought to resist them found himself deserted by his own forces, and he fled to Agra.

Now, Gwalior was in the hands of the insurgents. The people there supported by Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi proclaimed Nana Sahib as the Peshwa.

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The British followed them there too. Rani of Jhansi fought bravely on horse back on the Gwalior Fort, slipped with her horse from the height of the Fort down to the foot of the hill and was killed. Tantia Topi, the greatest fighting genious of the revolution who was also a Maratha, escaped. After a long pursuit he was captured being betrayed, and was executed 'for his complicity in the Cawnpore Massacre.'

The Great Revolution of 1857 and 1858 thus ended, last part being the period of 'legal executions' and 'just punishment' awarded by the victorious and vindictive British by such measures as hanging the supposed rebel on tree-tops, forcing him to lick blood, crouch before his august Majesty the individual British of whatever rank and position he might had been. The old Bahadur Shah upon which the leadership was imposed by a section of the revolting sepoys, had been tried, found guilty, and finally banished. This is the story of the Revolution in short.

One of the main reasons of the Indian defeat is that during this phase too the Indian power was not consolidated. The people who joined the revolution were more fanatical than nationally conscious. They had more British-hatred than any clear view of Indian freedom. As a whole the people were not freedom-conscious. They and their leaders had no constructive idea.

The Sikhs who lost their independence only three years before the revolution, did not taste the bitterness of alien rule. Gurkhas, who were merce-

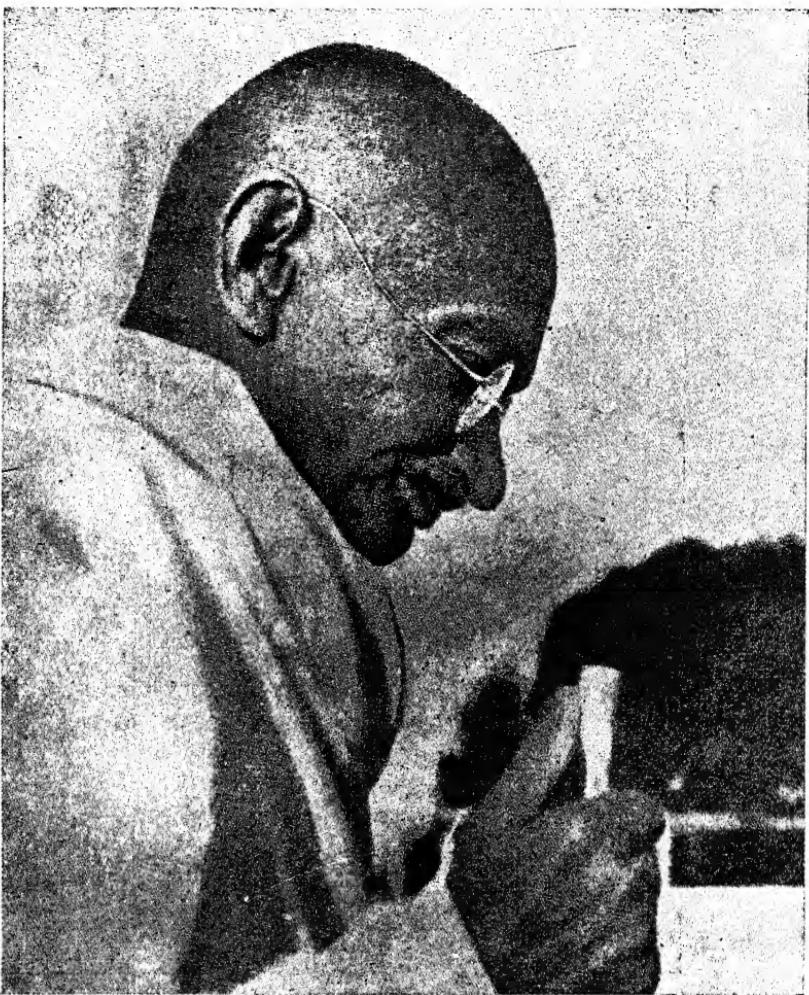
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naries and independent people did not care to find themselves one with the revolutionary sentiment which so widely spread in the plains of India. Bengal as it appeared being the strong-hold of the British Raj did not dare to revolt. For want of communications revolutionary tide could not be carried in many distant places and in many places where sepoys showed restiveness they were kept in control by the Rulers and Chiefs.

Those were the causes to add to others which led to the suppression of the revolution; and the most important cause is, that inspite of immense supports, the insurgents lacked up-to-date arms and equipments which generally decide a war, when both sides are strong.



Deshabandhu C. R. Das



Mahatma Gandhi



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru



Photo Atelier

Rashtrapati Subhas Chandra Bose

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1860 — AND ONWARD

INDIA'S Government was now that of the Crown's and not Company's. The Governor General was now Viceroy with an executive and the administration devolved upon a newly created Service—the Civil Service. This was, of course, a constitutional change, called Reform, and we were given to know that this was done for the good of India. But, as a matter of fact, it was a better arrangement for sitting tight over India. The British Raj was never in continuous peace; nor in this period too. There were of course no revolutionary outbreak, but the British policy of further expansions in yet not occupied territories continued. Those unexplored regions were the hilly tracts of Sikkim, Bhutan, Manipur, and tribal areas beyond the north-west frontier. With the Russian menace still in view, the British made wars again with the Afgans (1878-80), which did not prove favourable to the former. Finally they had to withdraw from Afgan area and made peaceful settlement through frontier delimitation.

On the pretext that the British subjects have been outraged, the remaining independent part of Burma, with Mandalay its capital, was occupied, this time no Bandula opposing. So through three wars (1826, 1852, and 1885) the full domination of Burma by the British had been completed.

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The Bhutan expeditions of the British Government of India during 1864-65 is an interesting event.

In 1837, arrangement was made between the Bhutanese and the British Government that they would take possession of Bengal Doors, which was in Bhutanese territory, on payment of revenue of 10,000 Rupees. From 1841 the arrangement was in force. But by 1863, the British wanted to enjoy the Doors without payment of revenue. This led to the Bhutanese 'outrages' in the Door areas. To settle this affair, a British Mission was sent to the Bhutanese Court, where, Mr. Eden, the head of the Mission signed secession of Doors to the Bhutanese on behalf of the British Government of India. It is said, he did it under compulsion and at the stake of his life. The British Government was very prompt to repudiate this treaty. Demand was made to the Bhutanese Government for the restitution of Bengal Doors. This was not complied. So British proclamation of war was issued on November, 1864. But it was a difficult job to subdue this hill-tract fighting enemy. There were five forts on the heights required to be stormed by the British to reach the Bhutan capital, one of which was Dewangiri Fort where the British were tragically defeated by a surprise Bhutanese attack, when the Bhutanese cut the water supply.

An overwhelming British army reoccupied that fort, where 120 Bhutanese were murdered cold-bloodedly by British troops.

But the victory was not decisive for the British. A treaty was concluded. According to it, the British

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Government had to pay Rs. 25,000 for Bengal Doors, and they would double the amount if the Bhutanese did not commit 'further outrages' on British subjects.

The north-west frontier and beyond always proved difficult for the British with Russian menace looming large; and with successive failures in Afgan campaigns, the British sought penetration into the 'no man's land'—the tribal area beyond the frontier. There were numerous campaigns upon them from the British side, but never they were tamed down. Rather, they continued to prove their aggressive existence by frequent raids upon British territory and even upon British outposts and moving detachments.

In 1863, a movement originated in this tribal area, known as Wahabee Movement, which developed into an all-India-conspiracy to overthrow the British.

It is significant that after five years the Sepoy Revolution ended, there were a political conspiracy like this of wide-India character. This time this was a secret political society systematically organised, with distinct political aims and objectives developing into menacing strength, which the British Government suppressed with difficulty.

The Mohamedans in every part of the world believed that a second prophet of the name of Imam Mahdi would appear at some future date. This belief had been exploited by a group of Muslims of middle class, who were thinking in terms of establishing a Muslim Raj in India by overthrowing the British.

Their propaganda in the Indian quarters everywhere, particularly among the Mussalmans, that the expected

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Islamic prophet had appeared far beyond the Western Frontier at a place named Sittana who would be soon out to annihilate the 'White Kaffirs' by means of sword, was effective.

The leader of the Movement in India was Mohammed Shuffi of the Punjab who was a contractor supplying meat to European regiments.

Secret emissaries and preachers were sent to all the great town all over India, to eve Dacca in East Bengal, for collecting men and supplies and for dissemination of disaffection. Inflammatory pamphlets were published and immense supports were signified, but the movement was gradually suppressed on the plot being unearthed.

The British now set off for the origin of the Movement to teach the men in Sittana beyond the Frontier. This led to the Umbelya Campaign in 1864, which however proved no effective.

The sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century was the period when Indian agitations in cities were first made from now sprouting Press and old Platforms. This was the time, a new force was in growth. This force is public opinion. Indian opinion now openly criticized not only the internal policy and activities of the British Government, but also adversely commented upon British Foreign Policy.

By 1875, a case was instituted against the Gaikwar of Baroda on the charge that he conspired to poison the Resident by arsenic and diamond-dust. The Court composed of Europeans and Indians split in their judgement. The Indians found him not guilty, but the Europeans said the contrary. It was a vicious charge

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against an important ruling Prince, who did not like to abide by British dictation.

Now as the charge of attempting poison failed, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, at once found him guilty of gross mismanagement (revival of an old charge) and he was deposed. This intervention in one of the States' affairs, this unacceptable charge of Gaikwar's complicity to poison an insignificant, though disturbing individual, the Resident, who was extremely unpopular, and the Viceroy's high handed deposition of him, made the Indian Press very much indignant, severely criticizing the Government actions. Besides this they did not like many of Lord Lytton's activities. This enraged the Lord and he gagged the Indian Press by an Act.

During his rule, many political organizations sprouted up, though in small groups. Some of them were much extremists, while many were moderates. People in the city began to think in term of Party and joined in Associations.

The Sarbajanik Sabha which was formed in a bigger scale, was strongest political organization, of the time before the Congress came into being.

With the complete consolidation of British Power in India, people in the cities now began to think in term of India as one political unit, rather, one nation, and a tendency towards an all-India organization worked out. The result was the first session of the All-India Congress held in Bombay in 1885.

Those were the hay days of the British exploitation; British trades and industries growing apace at the expenses and forced suppression of Indian cottage

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industries. Then was the indigo-planter's Raj, the Civil Servants' finest hours.

The leading people in the cities protested against these from press and platform.

A section of the Indians sought an all Indian platform to ventilate the Indian grievances, the outcome was the Indian National Congress for whose organization some Englishmen also lent their hands. But because of this English association, the tone of the Congress from the beginning became too moderate. The Indian members, who joined it, were also moderates in their outlook though they recognized that many evils under the existing rule needed redress.

The people with extreme views remained outside. The Government would not permit them together in big Associations. So the big start was with the moderates.

The first Congress was held in Bombay on December 28, 1885, with seventy two representatives, and thirty others present, who could not directly join, being Government servants.

The resolutions of the first Congress definitely proved that the Congress-men, though essentially moderate, were big brains. They enquired in the working of the Indian Administration, asked for the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, urged reform of the Legislative Council, criticized military expenditures and protested the annexation of Burma.

Of course, these assembly-talks were not paid heed to, yet it was clear that Indian brains could clearly understand into details what our British masters did

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and meant to do.

The second Congress which was held in Calcutta had more progressive resolutions. It demanded inauguration of representative institutions in order to deal effectively with the increasing poverty in India. But in the next year, in 1887, the Congress men did not confine themselves to passing resolutions only. The associative spirit has now got a bit active political inspiration. The leaders felt that they really must do something. They resorted to extensive propaganda among masses just to make them conscious of their rightful demands. This caused some nervousness to the Government which ultimately influenced the Congress to drop it.

It is interesting that since then for a long time the Congress which held every year continued to be like 'soda water bottles that burst their corks,' to quote Bepin Chandra Pal. A sop to cerberus was given to India by Indian Council Act of 1892. The Congress policies and energy were now entirely concentrated to winning seats in the Councils. It became a tame body with empty big resolutions. And this state of thing continued upto 1905 when Bengal was in turmoil on the issue of Bengal Partition.

Lord Curzon was a fellow who rejoiced in flouting the Congress. The Congress resolutions in regard to the Government policy were never paid heed to, prayers met with definite 'No' and Indian aspirations expressed through the Congress had been considered as sheer nonsense.

A section of Congress men resented it; they pleaded for direct action. But moderate elements still prevailed.

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In 1906 session at Benares the Congress conceded the justification of the Boycott movement as a protest against the Partition of Bengal, but could not entertain it in their general programme.

By 1907 the Congress had definitely two wings—one the moderates and the other the extremists. Bengal led the latter group. They wanted Tilak to be the Congress President during that session ; but by secret manipulation of the moderates, Dadabhai Nauroji took the chair.

In this Congress the extremist group raised the National Flag. Dadabhai Nauroji herein first enunciated his *Swaraj* theory in the likeness of Self-Government as obtaining in the Colonies of the United Kingdom.

The next Congress met at Surat. The gulf between the extremists and the moderates became wider there. Somebody flung shoe upon Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta as protest against the moderate policy.

Dominion Status was declared the Congress objective in that sitting, the goal to be reached by constitutional means. The extremists who called themselves Nationalists remained outside the Congress.

Then came the period of First World War. Many restrictions were put upon the Indians during that time so that they might not break into rebellion on seizing the opportunity. But the war ended without any open disturbance in India and at a great expense of Indian blood and resources.

In order to perpetuate the war-time restrictions on the Indians, a Bill was introduced within a short time of the termination of the war. It was the notorious

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Rowlatt Bill. It received unanimous opposition from the Indian quarters. But the Government must carry.

Gandhiji was then the leader of India. He launched *Satyagraha* movement in protest against the Bill. It gave soul-shaking to the masses. There was tremendous awakening. Gandhiji was soon arrested. Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were deported. This led to mob-violence at Ahmedabad and Amritsar. Gandhiji said that the way was not still prepared. He suspended the movement and said he committed a 'Himalayan blunder'—because the people had not yet learnt to be non-violent. Then came the Jallianwallabagh Massacre (1919), committed by the British at Amritsar. Without giving warning to a big assemblage in a walled area, 1,650 rounds were fired in course of ten minutes. The firing stopped only when the ammunition exhausted.

The official estimate of severe casualties amounted to 1,137, number of deaths being 379.

The Congress assembled at Amritsar on Dec. 24, 1919. Gandhiji accepted and got the Congress to accept and work out the proclaimed Reform Act, which His Majesty assented. This was declared just on the eve of the Congress session. The British Government granted general amnesty to those concerned in the Punjab disturbances.

This was just a hoodwink. But Gandhiji wanted to work out the Reform, though he knew them 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.'

But he was soon disillusioned. It was simply a white-wash to the Punjab crime and the Reform proved

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practically a farce.

Gandhiji started his Non-co-operation Movement in 1920 against the 'Satanic Goverment' which name he now attributed to the British rule. The first greatest all-India war of Independence, though undeclared, started, non-violence and non-cooperation being the two great weapons. It was apparently a protest against the British mis-rule.

The Khilafatist Muslims joined in the struggle as the Muslims in India were given assurance by the Government that the Khalifa would be restituted to the Turkish throne, the promise which was never kept.

The Khilafat cause, the Punjab humiliation, and the British refusal to repair the breach were the declared causes of Gandhiji's rebellion.

In the wake of it, civil disobedience was started in some quarters and a serious disturbance occurred in Bombay on November 17th, when the Prince of Wales was to land on the shore of Bombay. This was followed by complete *hartal* throughout India.

This was much for the bureaucracy. The Government declared all meetings of the Congress and Khilafatists unlawful. Numerous arrests were made. C. R. Das, the President-elect of the year was also put into custody. Bardoli and Anand Taluks in Gujerat resorted to mass civil disobedience with immense success. At Chouri Choura some police men were done to death by an infuriated mob.

Gandhiji, who always disliked violent outbursts, was however held responsible for starting the great turmoil. He was arrested and given long-term im-

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sonment. The movement was suppressed for the time being.

The Congressmen now having nothing bigger to do involved themselves in the wrangle of Council-entry and Non-co-operation. The non-co-operation spirit was now weakened, though the majority of the members persisted on it. The President C. R. Das who was not one with the majority formed the Swarajya Party to carry on with the Council Programme.

By February 1924, Gandhiji was released. At Belgum in the Congress session of the same year, Gandhiji, the President, suspended the Non-co-operation Movement.

The stalemate had persisted upto 1927. On that year the arrival of the Simon Commission gave a new stir in the India's political life. The Congress boycotted it and the leaders raised new hope in the masses through the boycott propaganda in which dissatisfaction against the British rule was re-iterated.

In the Madras session of the Congress, a resolution for independence of India was passed, though complete independence was not defined as the immediate objective

In 1928, the Calcutta session of the Congress accepted the Nehru Report which recommended Dominion Status. But there was keen contest between the supporters of Complete Independence and Dominion Status. Congress however accepted the Dominion Status resolution on the condition that the constitution should be accepted by the British before December 31, 1929. In event of the Government not

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accepting this, the Congress would resort to non-violent non-co-operation movement including non-payment of taxes, and work for complete independence.

In the Lahore Congress, in 1929 the Congress declared complete independence as its goal.

On March 12, 1930, Gandhiji commenced his historic March to Dandi which was the start of the great Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji's 11-point demand, made to the Viceroy, which sought only some constitutional redresses, such as 50 per cent reduction of land revenue, abolition of Salt Tax, reduction of salary, total prohibition etc., was not paid heed to.

Gandhiji's own defiance of the Salt Law was given no importance in the beginning, but within a fortnight the Law was defied everywhere particularly in the sea coast areas. People in thousands, from all parts of India, began marching to sea coasts to defy the Salt Law. Innumerable arrests, lathi charges, and oppressions followed in the wake of it.

The Movement was suspended on the basis of Gandhi-Irwin pact (1931). Gandhiji joined the Round Table Conference, seeking again some friendly solution. Again his demand for the Indian people remained unheeded. Dissatisfied he started the second Civil Disobedience Movement in January, 1932. This time the new Viceroy, who considered himself as a *pucca* representative of the British diehards started gagging India, before Gandhiji's arrival in this country. Almost all leaders were arrested in the mean time.

Gandhiji was also arrested very soon. About 75,000 men and women were imprisoned. The Congress fund

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was confiscated and the Congress premises were occupied by the Government.

Gandhiji was released on May 8, 1933. In July, he decided to take up another March, and communicated his intention to the Bombay Government. He was promptly arrested and served with a notice of internment. On April 7, Gandhiji withdrew the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Since 1934 upto 1937, the important event in the Congress career was office acceptance. In March 1937, the Working Committee permitted the Congress men to accept office as set up by the new Indian Constitution (1935). Congress Ministries were established in seven out of eleven Provinces.

On September 3, 1939, India was declared a belligerent country without even the Provincial Cabinets and Viceroys' Council being consulted.

On that issue, and being disillusioned of the British intentions with regard to India, the Congress Ministries resigned in all the Congress Provinces.

On September 1940, the Congress decided on individual civil disobedience and immediately mass arrest of Congress men and followers began.

The Congress called off the Satyagraha in December 1941 and the leaders were shortly released.

They realized that the method was wrong and began to think in term of mass contact and mass revolution. Some of them have gone communists, but all believed that independence was meaningless if the people did not fight for it, and fight with political consciousness. The phase beginning from 1860

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is the phase of ideological approach to politics. There were no struggle for the vindication of personal right or interests. The ruling Chiefs who were so long the most recalcitrant, now remained tamed-down. They and most of the so called upper class people, mainly Zemindars, have not only remained silent, they have constituted the props to bolster up the British Raj.

The leadership now has come into the hands of the intelligentsia, the right leader class, who seek power through the people's strength.

Now by the fourth decade of twentieth century, the Indian war of independence is a war for people's right with set programme, objective, and constructive idea for the future.

India no longer thinks in term of British hatred and now does not fight with spirit of vengeance. She considers the British as obstacles in her path of progress. So she asks them to quit and clear off! The British are now reduced to a second rate Power on international reason, and on the face of the tremendous political awakening in India, they quite reasonably feel that their days are rapidly waning. So they are resorting to the last straw of bargaining method, yet backed by their armed strength. But in this very uncomfortable time and before that non-visible and non violent weapon of Gandhiji the mighty British arms seem to be crumbling.

On March 22, 1941, Cripps arrived with his ill-fated proposals which none of the major Parties in India accepted.

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On August 8th, 1942, the A. I. C. C. passed the 'Quit India' Resolution asking the British to quit this country and India would determine her own destiny.

On August 9, Gandhiji and all the Working Committee members of the Congress were arrested. 60,000 others were incarcerated within a short time as the masses reacted both violently and non-violently everywhere with brilliant immediate success. They were suppressed ultra-violently by the British bureaucracy and its agents. The police killed 940 and injured 630 persons. Military were called in some places; they resorted to air bombing in villages. Raping, ravishing and other barbarities, are alleged to have been committed, in large scale by the Government people. The Congress and other institutions connected with it, were declared banned.

During the third phase of the war of independence our movements did not remain localized. These were not fragmental or incoherent. As the British regime was established throughout India, India as a whole had taken the shape of one nation. So any political movement made during this time should take necessarily an all India character. Because of growing centralization of the British rule in India, and close contact that was gradually being made through communication and transport services, Indians from different parts had been coming closer to one another. The British became the common master, therefore their common enemy. Any political movement rising from any part of India would find everywhere a unity of purpose; any movement, wherever

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it had originated, would spread out all over the sub-continent. The Wahabee movement did so, so did the Congress movement of 1942 which gradually developed into a tremendously all India struggle.

Since 1860, a centripetal consolidation of our political life has been taking place and its realm extended all over India. There were yet some rising of local character like the Mopla Rebellion. Yet the repercussion was felt all over India. The Manipur Rebellion which took place in the later part of the 19th century, though it was the affair of a Feudatory State had already given a political stir in the plains of India. The deposition of the Gaikwar of Baroda also provoked resentment everywhere. The resenting spirit however had been confined to the intelligents, a section of the people now created through the contact of the British and Western culture.

Though the Indian masses had been showing their proneness to fanaticism and excitement when any call came to them from any source, they could not, or did not like to discreen why they had responded. But since 1921, through the great Non-co-operation Movement, the masses have had a political education which got rapid spur through subsequent movements in 1930-32 to August movement of 1942. This is an age of all India politics and seeds of which were sown within a few years of this Sepoy Revolution.

The modern India was in the making since that time and politics found expressions mainly through the Congress demand. But by 1900, some new organizations came into the stage with their respective

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outlooks and methods. This time a section resorted to the cult of bombs and pestols. Organizations latterly grew up on different ideological basis. 'Democracy' 'socialism' and 'communism' etc. had been finding their support in India and Parties grew up with slogans and shiboleths, and no organization remained localized.

The majority of Indian Muslims have consolidated under the banner of a Party called the Muslim League, which has an ideology of its own. It is a communal organization. The Hindus have also formed a powerful communal organization, known as Hindu Mahasabha. But majority of the Hindus support the Congress, a non-communal organization whose ideology was now democracy of Gandhian brand.

But none of the political organizations in India except the Congress has proved itself as a fighting force. It is the Congress only, which have been fighting vehemently the British Raj, which Gandhiji called a Satanic Government. Through the forces of his successive non-violent movements, which could not remain non-violent always, the Congress fought the most organized war of independence in a unique way. The war waged by the Congress, which is still on force, has now pushed the British upto the wing of departure. The Congress now ask them to quit India. But the British still hold on for the last bargain.

We cannot conclude this chapter without mentioning the great subservient movement, which the British call terrorist activities. Since the end of the last century, a section of young men, particularly in Bengal and Bombay, had been thinking that the British

INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

could be driven out of India, if they were terrorised. Fool-blooded partiotism had been their inspiration. They had taken lesson from the American, Italian and Irish revolutions with a vague republican ideology. They thought in terms of Indian nationalism and liberation of the Mother Country. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Aravindo Ghose, etc. who latterly reached eminence for their other political or spiritual attainments, were amongst the movement's earliest leaders. Some of the young students studying overseas were imbued in the idea and conspired for armed revolution. But arms being little available, the first expression of their patriotism found violent method, in murdering of British officials and Intelligence Branch men by means of bombs or revolvers and pistols, the small weapons, which could be smuggled in. During the first decade of the twentieth century this secret movement was immensely strong. Many murders were committed, many bombs exploded, and many conspiracy were unearthed by the police, which subsequently led to many executions and transportsations. A recrudescence of the movement occurred during the first World War period, when ships loaded with arms and ammunitions received from the Germans were proceeding to or brought near Indian shores. Those were intercepted. An Indian attempt for a revolution supported by the Indian Army had been foiled. Among the heroes of the war-time secret movement, the names of Sri Rash Behari Bose, Raja Mohendra Pratap, Mr. M. N. Roy and many others may here be mentioned.

THE THIRD PHASE

The Congress movement though very powerful have had its ebbs and tides, but the terrorist movement, though naturally remained subservient, persisted vigorously upto 1933. Its latest stirring outburst was the Chittagong Armoury Raid, on April, 1930. Other important cases, in the meantime, were the Kakori and Lahore Conspiracies. In the latter case, Bhagat Singh was executed. One offshoot of that case was Jatin Das who continued hunger-strike in jail for the redress of some grievances of the political prisoners. It ultimately led to his death and he was made martyr. This terrorism was not misguided, for nobody had to guide it. It was spontaneous outburst of emotional extremist mind, whose hatred for the alien rule sought a vengeance. As fighting with organized armed strength was impossible, they resorted to the crude method of bombs and revolvers, though knowing for certain that political murders would not bring independence. But they believed that it would pave the way to independence. Subsequently as the time advanced many of them changed their views.

Book 11

Indian National Army



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose



Major General Shah Newaj



Lieutenant Colonel P. K. Sehgal



By Courtesy Hindustan Standard

Lieut. Colonel Lakshmi Swaminathan

A REVIEW

WITH the Japanese declaration of war against Britain and America which was followed by the former's successive victories in battles, the Indians in East Asia found this an opportune moment to organize a League in order to bring about the liberation of their mother country by armed invasion. The result was the establishment of the Indian Independence League under the presidentship of Rash Behari Bose. Its Head Quarters were in Bangkok. The League had its branches in Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Philippines, Shanghai, Japan and in some other places. The League had regular membership in all these countries. The number was about 750,000. It was in the middle of June, 1942, a conference of the Indians in East Asia was held in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. Many Indians from Japan, Shanghai, Philippines, Java, Indo-China, Celebes, Borneo, Canton and Thailand attended the meeting. The Indian population inhabiting those places numbered about three million. All of them were imbued with the spirit of independence that was born in the tense atmosphere of the Japanese victory. The delegates they sent to the conference numbered 110. The conference passed sixty to seventy resolutions. One of the resolutions was a call to the Indians, especially civilians, to organize

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themselves ; this was to be one and only organization through which they would be able to have security and safety of life and property. This organization would be called Indian Independence Movement having regional and local branches of the League working in the line. Another resolution suggested raising an army. The activities of the Independence Movement should be in conformity with the activities of the Indian National Congress. It was at the call of the Congress, as understood, the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fouj), the League's army, would proceed further beyond the Indian frontier. Captain Mohan Singh was GOC of the 1st INA, while Mr. Rash Behari Bose was the President of the League and Chairman of its Council of Action.

Rash Behari Bose, who lived many years in Japan, had an inclination to come in closest co-operation with the Japanese with regard to the invasion of India and he rather liked Japanese supervision of INA's military activities. Mr. Bose was, however, firmly in the belief that the Japanese would help him in his fight for India's liberation and not for their own political end.

It cannot be denied that during his leadership the Japanese had a strong influence upon him. But most of the Indian members of the League including the members of the Council of Action resented it. They ultimately resigned *en bloc*.

Mohan Singh, the GOC of the first INA particularly desired that the Japanese intervention and interference should be prevented and firmly dealt with. This led to an unhappy relation between Mr. Bose and himself.

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It was on the point of policy regarding the League's and the first INA's relation with the Japanese, a rift occurred between the member of the Council of Action and its Chairman. Subsequently Mohan Singh was arrested on charge of insubordination, perhaps at the instance of the Japanese, which led to the breakdown of the 1st INA. The rank and file, and most of the important members of the League seemed to have not liked the policy of action of Mr. Bose, though they were seething with the spirit of independence and desire to fight for the liberation of India. The things became temporarily dull for the wrong leadership until Subhas Chandra Bose arrived and took the leadership. New enthusiasm was now infused in the minds of East Asian Indians and the Indian soldiers, who were captured by the Japanese and subsequently set free. The 2nd INA was formed, all voluntarily joining it.

In July 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore. There in Singapore another conference of the League was held on July, 4 attended by the representatives from all branches in East Asia and Indonesia. At that conference Rash Behari Bose formally handed over the presidentship of the League to Subhas Chandra Bose, who was intensely greeted as Netaji by the enthusiastic crowd.

Now Netaji spoke his words. In the course of his address he said that he intended to establish a Provisional Government of Free India as early as possible. The audience received this announcement with frenzied cheering. In October 1943, another conference of the League was held in Singapore. There Netaji

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Subhas Chandra announced the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The names of the members of the Government were also announced at that time. In that open conference Netaji took the oath of allegiance to India followed by the taking of oaths of allegiance to India and Netaji by other members of the Government.

Amidst continuous cheering and shouts of *Subhas Chandra Bose ki Jai, Arji Hukumate Azad Hind Ki Jai*, the grand proceedings of the conference took place. The Indian populace, present there, irrespective of caste and creed, drank into the new spirit of life which breathed independence into their very soul. It was that Provisional Government which formed the 2nd INA declared war against the British and the Americans and gave security to the Indian people in Malaya and Burma. The Government gave direction to the INA to give protection to Indian nationals wherever and whenever it might be needed, particularly against lawlessness. The Government also provided education on national lines and medical and other reliefs to the Indians.

The Provisional Government used to publish a monthly bulletin of the Indian Independence League. With the establishment of the Provisional Government the Indian Independence League was not discarded. The new Government rather used the machinery of the Indian Independence League as its own executive. In the League bulletin of December 1943, it was stated, among other things that, 'Indians in the East Asia to-day are no more the citizens of an alien-

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power. They are proud citizens of the provisional Government of Azad Hind. To bring home to every Indian in Malaya and to rouse our community to a full realization of the responsibilities of the new status, it has been decided to ask each member of the Indian Independence League to take oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.'

The August, 1944 issue of the bulletin showed that the number of persons who took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government up to June, 1944, was 332,562.

As for finance and maintaining their activities the Provisional Government depended mainly upon donations from the Indians throughout East Asia.

The Government had their bank also named as Azad Hind Bank which was opened in Rangoon in April, 1944. All collections were kept in this bank. The amount deposited on the Provisional Government's account upto July 31, 1944, rose to 15,315,144 dollars (one dollar worth more than a rupee before the war). These were in money and in kind, such as articles of gold, jewellery, silver-ware etc. besides a certain percentage was fixed by voluntary consent of the Indian themselves as their donation to the Provisional Government.

As for the 2nd INA, it was a part of the Provisional Government. Subhas Bose took its command from the out set, when he took over Presidentship of the Azad Government. Later he became the Supreme Commander of the INA.

The recruitment to the INA was absolutely

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voluntary. There were always surplus volunteers who could not be trained or given arms for want of trained men and materials.

The 2nd INA began to carry out its function under the orders of the new State.

The INA advanced and actually fought in the Indian soil right upto Kohima. The Provisional Government had its temporary rule in the Manipore area.

It was an established government which employed its army with the mission of launching and conducting the struggle in order to effect expulsion of the Britishers and their allies from the soil of India.

The final task of the new State was to establish a Provisional Government in India according to the will of the Indian people. It launched the war, and had its jurisdiction, governmental functions and territory occupied and ceded to it by the Japanese.

It was a Government recognized by a number of States which included all the Axis Powers.

Its army which fought the war for liberating the whole of India from the British domination, was a properly organized one which had its distinctive badges and emblems. It had its officers and men regularly appointed and it fought and existed as a disciplined army. It was regulated by Indian National Army Act.

The INA was not only formed for the fighting for India's liberation, it had its other important purposes too—that is protection of the lives, honour and property of the Indian people residing in East Asia at that time.

A REVIEW

The territorial possession of the new Indian State consisted of the islands of Andamans and Nicobar, which were ceded to it by the Japanese. In Burma, it acquired the estate of Ziawadi, about 50 square miles in area and governed it successfully. It had also occupied Manipur and Kohima areas in India where its administration lasted for four to six months. These areas, occupied by armed invasion, covered 15,000 square miles.

The Andamans and Nicobar islands which were ceded to the Provisional Government by the Japanese as a token of their willingness to help the Indians in their struggle for independence were under the new regime, administered by a Commissioner, appointed on behalf of the new State. Colonel Loganadan took over the charge of the administration. The islands were completely ceded to the new government but as the process of transfer took time the Colonel could not take charge of more than two items of the administration at that period of transition. All the same, the island now legally belonged to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, which were renamed as Shahid and Swaraj islands.

As soon as the INA crossed the borders of Burma into India, a proclamation was issued in two parts, one signed by the head of the Indian State and other by General Kawabe under the order of the South Eastern Command, declaring that any part of Indian territory acquired by conquest or otherwise by the Japanese army would be handed over to the INA to form part of the liberated territory and

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to be administered by them.

During that time the Japanese and the INA were operating there the Manipur and Bishenpore areas were in fact administered by the INA through the *Azad Hind Dal*.

As soon as the Provisional Government was established in Imphal area,'the Government was going to issue its own stamp, which however could not be done as INA had to retreat from the place under the forces of circumstances.

In a weekly magazine called 'Stamp Collecting' the journal's correspondent wrote that he had seen proof impression of a special issue of stamps for use in Imphal. Two denominations, namely three pice and one anna seemed to have been prepared. The subject of the vignette was the old Mughal Fortress at old Delhi with an inscription *Dehli Cholo—On to Delhi*. There were other inscriptions in two languages reading Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE

SINGAPORE fell in the hands of Japan on February 15, 1942, and thousands of British and Indian soldiers were taken prisoners by the Japanese. The Japanese believed that the majority of the Indians would turn their bayonet against the British if the circumstances would allow them to do so. The Indian soldiers in the British Army were only mercenaries, but in different circumstances their patriotic spirit might rise. The surrender brought it about. The Japanese wanted to utilize that spirit to their own end. With that purpose in view, Major Fujiara of the Japanese army invited a number of leading Indians at the Japanese Head Quarters. There he suggested that the Japanese were ready to help the Indians to fight for the liberation of their Mother Country and the time and chance had now come. He further suggested that the Indians in East Asia should organize themselves and prepare to fight the British for which Japan would render all possible help.

But impliedly Major Fujiara wanted that the Indians should remain subordinate to the Japanese. On realizing that the Indians did not commit anything at the meeting and avoided the Major for the present saying that they would meet him again to give him their considered view.

On the 9th and 10th March of the year 1942, the leading Indians of East Asia met in Singapore at

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a conference. It was decided in the conference that a Good-Will Mission would be sent to Tokyo. But the Japanese military authority in Singapore wished that an official delegation of Indians under their direction would serve better the Japanese military interests than independent Good-Will Misson sent by the Indians themselves. But the Indians did not like any sort of subordination or direction from the Japs in their political affair.

On the 28th, 29th and 30th March in the same year a conference was held in Tokyo under the presidentship of Rash Behari Bose, where, besides the above mentioned Good-Will Mission, representatives of the Indian populations from all part of East Asia and East Indies were present.

The main resolution adopted in that conference said that, it was the proper time for the Indians of East Asia to launch their independence movement for the liberation of their Mother Country. They would fight for full independence, free from any foreign obligation, interference and control. Indians would at their free will take up all military actions including invasion of India at their own national interest only and that would be done under Indian command and leadership and with this purpose in view they would organize an Indian national army.

According to another important resolution the future constitution of Free India had to be framed and built up by the National Congress to which the East Asian Indians owed their allegiance.

This conference led to the convention of a bigger conference at Bangkok which was held during the

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE

period from the 15th to 23rd June, 1942, where one hundred delegates from all parts of East Asia were present.

The main resolutions carried out were briefly as follows :

(1) In order to bring about the liberation of India, the Indian Independence League will be organized, composed of the Indians of East Asia.

(2) The principles and programme of the League will be framed according to the principles and programme of the Indian National Congress. As soon as they enter India, they will work under the direction and control of the National Congress and merge into the Congress movement.

(3) An Indian National Army will be organized with the recruits from the civilian Indians and members of the Indian Army now set free by the Japanese who were previously their prisoners of war.

(4) Japan must elucidate her relation with the Indian Independence League, for which demand should be made to the Japanese authority at Tokyo.

The Independence League of which Rash Behari Bose was the President soon organized its army known as the 1st INA. General Mohan Singh, formerly a captain in the Indian Army, took over the charge of the organization. A large number of Indian soldiers and civilians promptly joined it.

All their political and military activities were carried out independently with a clear resentment to the frequent Japanese interference with the League and particularly the INA's affairs..

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The Japanese military authority which needed much interfering in the Indian National Army activities did not like the independent attitude of the INA men. The Jap army there were never clear of its intentions with regard to its relation to the League. Besides it, acted in a manner so as to use the League and its army as its own instruments.

But the INA leaders were adamant. Colonel Gill, one of the members of the INA found himself suddenly arrested by the Japs.

'Jakuru Kikan', the liaison department of the Japanese army, which actively interfered with the INA did not represent the Japanese Government. Rash Behari Bose who also did not want the interference by the military department, thought it wise to consult Tokyo with regard to the Japanese intentions. In this respect he was supported by the Malayan branch of the League. With the above view in mind Mr. Bose prepared a memorandum to be sent to Tokyo which was unfortunately captured by the Jakuru Kikan while in transmission.

Jakuru Kikan was now actively engaged in removing the undesirable elements out of the League and its army. Accordingly they caused Shree Raghavan, the president of the Malayan Branch of the League to resign. They also caused Mohan Singh to be arrested which ultimately led to the disbandment of the 1st INA.

The members of the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League, of which Rash Behari Bose was president with two civilian and two military members—General Mohan Singh and Lt. Col. Gilani

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resented the Japanese interference from the beginning. But as Rash Behari Bose was moderate with the Japs, all the members of the Council of Action resigned. This precipitated the breakdown and the situation was saved while Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore on July 2, 1943, and took over the League's leadership from the hand of Rash Behari Bose.

On the 5th July, the Second Indian National Army was organized under his command.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF AZAD HIND

THE Provisional Government of Azad Hind which was formed with Subhas Chandra Bose as its head had the following members in the cabinet.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief of the State, Prime Minister, Minister of War and Foreign Affairs and Communication, Chief of the INA

Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjee, Finance

Major Lakshmi Swaminathan, Women's Organization

Mr. S. A. Ayer, Publicity and Propaganda

Lt. Col. Aziz Ahmed

Lt. Col. N. S. Bhagat

Col. J. K. Bhonsle

Lt. Col. Gulzara Singh

Lt. Col. M. Z. Kiani

Lt. Col. Eshan Quadir

Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz

Lt. Col. A. P. Loganadan

Mr. A. M. Sahaya, Secretary (with Ministerial rank)

Sj. Rash Behari Bose, Supreme Adviser

Mr. Karim Gani

Mr. Debnath Das

Mr. D. M. Khan

Mr. A. Yellappa

Mr. J. Thevy

Mr. Sardar Isher Singh

Mr. A. N. Sarkar, Legal Adviser

} Representative of the
Armed Forces

} Advisers

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Though the Provisional Government was first established in Singapore its Head Quarters were transferred to Rangoon afterwards.

The Government had nineteen departments, all with well-equipped offices and necessary papers, documents, record books etc.

The Rear Head Quarters of the Government still existed in Singapore and it supervised Indian interest throughout East Asia. In Malaya only, the Government had seventy branches, the number of the members at those branches exceeded two lakh. In Burma, there were hundred branches, in Thailand twenty four. Besides those they had branches all over East Asia and East Indies.

In addition to the army and administrative functions the social services sponsored by them is also worth mentioning, which was also a part of the governmental functions. The social services were mainly done through an institution known as *Azad Hind Dal*, which also took up certain administrative works.

The main centre of the Government's social service activities was at Kuala Lumpur, where more than one thousand person were given medical treatment and other aids. The monthly expenses at that centre was seventy five thousand dollars. In Burma it had organized many charitable dispensaries and at Thailand it had established up-to-date hospital. In Malaya the institution cleared 2000 acres of jungle land and made the place habitable for a large number of Indians where agriculture was set up.

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It had educational institutions too, where particularly Hindusthani Language was taught. In Burma alone there were sixty five national schools of that type.

The main object of the Azad Hind Dal was to establish administration in territories taken by INA from time to time. The *Dal* was mainly composed of civilians, who received training in civil administration at Singapore and Rangoon.

Lt. Col. Chatterjee was designated Governor of the territories occupied by the Azad Hind Government. A draft scheme of administration for the occupied territory was prepared by one of the members of the cabinet—Mr. Sarkar, which was accepted.

Andaman and Nicobar islands which were ceded to the Provisional Government were administered by Lt. Colonel Loganadan for about eight months.

As for the final relation between the Japanese Government and the Azad Government, it has been clearly stated by the Japanese witnesses in the 1st. INA Trial that Japan fully recognized the independent position of the free India Government. In the Court Mr. Saburo Ohta of the Japanese Foreign Office produced documents which proved that the Japanese Government recognized the Provisional Government of Free India.

The Japanese Board of Information announced this in a document, on 23rd October, 1943 two days after the Provisional Government of Free India was proclaimed. On 23rd the Japanese Government also made a statement with regard to the Free India Government. This contained that the Azad Hind Govern-

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

ment which had been established under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose was an epic making step towards the long cherished aspirations of the people of India for independence. The Japanese were confident of that Government. The Japanese Government recognized the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind and thereby declared that every possible assistance on its part would be afforded to the latter for the achievement of its aim.

General Tojo, in his speech before the assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations on November 6, 1943, said, 'Now, the foundation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has been solidified till further and the Indian patriots under the same Government are firmly determined to accomplish their steadfast aim. I take this occasion to declare that the Imperial Government of Japan is ready shortly to place the Andamans and Nicobar islands of the Indian territory, now under the occupations of Imperial Japanese forces, under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, as the initial evidence of her readiness to help in the Indian struggle for Freedom.'

Besides the recognition of Japan the Azad Hind Government was recognized by the Governments of Croatia, Manchukuo, Germany and Burma, (from the evidence of Mr. Shunichi Matsumoto, vice-member for Japanese foreign affairs from 1942 to October 1944 and again from May, 1945).

Now we shall end this chapter with some descriptions of the Azad Hind Bank. From the evidence given

INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

at the court and the information gathered from various sources the accurate financial position of the bank cannot correctly be ascertained.

Any way the principles and the working of the bank have clearly been defined and corroborated.

The necessity of establishing the Azad Hind Bank was declared by the Head of the Provisional Government. But at first it appeared very difficult to organize it. But one Muslim multimillionaire broke the ice. Netaji Subhas Chandra had a talk with the gentleman. Netaji said, a Free Government must have its bank and without secured money no political and military purpose could be served. He did not know how to get the start. At least 50 lakh of rupees he required for that purpose.

The Muslim gentleman at once solved the problem saying 'I myself shall give 30 lakh and the rest of the 20 lakh I guarantee to present to you in a week's time; and within a week's time the money was collected. Within a fortnight the bank was legally organized and registered under the Burmese Registration Act. It was a shareholder's bank, authorised capital being 50 lakh rupees out of which 25 lakh was paid-up capital. Its cheques were as good as rupee notes in current use. All businessmen accepted them and actually preferred them to the Jap currency.

Since then there donations were flowing from all quarters of East Asia. Big businessmen proved themselves always liberal when Netaji Bose was in financial difficulties. With the Government expanding and its army growing stronger, more and more money was

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

required. Those donations however did not suffice to meet the requirements.

There were also other ways by which money flew to Netaji's requirements. Whenever he spoke to public meetings, his garlands would have been sold in auction, and would bring him to 12 lakh of rupees.

One Punjabi gentleman bought a garland of Netaji Bose in exchange of his whole property. Yet this did not suffice for all expenditure of the Government and its army. At least 15 crore of rupees were required at that time. So the Provisional Government of India resorted to the practice of taxation. This tax was not collected on the basis of income or profit made in the year. The procedure was this : first a committee of prominent businessmen were formed to estimate the capital of every Indian. Then the Government decided that certain percentage—ten percent—should be paid in as tax. These were to be paid in instalments as decided by the committee. This was done in Burma and it was expected that altogether eight crore of rupees could be procured in Burma alone.

By January 26, 1945 the capital of Azad Hind Bank rose to 35 crore. During that time not only Burma fulfilled its quota, but money and valuable goods were being poured to the Fund from all quarters of East Asia, contributed by the Indians only.

Public response to the bank was so good that as soon as the bank was started, a number of branches were established in Burma. Business went on smoothly through the transaction of the bank.

The bank received payment on behalf of the

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Government. Provisional Government finances were operated by the Finance Minister.

Even during the tottering condition of Azad Hind Government in the last days, the bank functioned for some time. It was a critical time with financial chaos and soaring prices. At that time the Azad Hind Bank gave the Indian people their financial help including supplying them with food, clothings and other necessities.

On May 19, 1945 Brigadier Lauder of the British army took possession of the bank and confiscated its deposits still lying along with its books. The money that was lying with the bank was the bank's own money which amounted to 35 lakh. Before the British swooped down upon it, the bank authority was prompt enough to return the public money to the respective depositors.

AZAD HIND FOUJ

IN the previous chapters we have discussed upon the origin and growth of the INA as the part of the Indian Independence League and subsequently that of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. The Indian Independence League under the Presidentship of Rash Behari Bose was responsible for the organization of the 1st INA which was dissolved within a very short time. The 2nd INA was formed as the part of the Provisional Government under the Supreme Command of Subhas Chandra Bose. The activities and achievements of this INA are well-known.

The 1st INA could not rise to the importance of the 2nd one because of the Japanese interference. The second Indian National Army was inaugurated on July 4, 1943. Within a short time Subhas Chandra Bose took the direct command of the Army.

Following is the Order that was issued on the occasion of his taking over the direct command.

'In the interest of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fouj I have taken over the direct command of our army from this day.

'This is for me a matter of joy and pride-because for an Indian, there can be no greater honour than to be the Commander of India's Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God may give me

INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

the necessary strength to fulfil my duty to India under all circumstances, however difficult or trying they may be.

'I regard myself as the servant of 38 crore of my countrymen, who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 38 crore may be safe in my hands and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India's Army of Liberation can be built up.

'In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, for the establishment of a Government of Free India based on the goodwill of 38 crore of Indian and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian independence for all time, the Azad Hind Fouj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role, we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—namely the Freedom of India—and only one will—namely, to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. When we stand, the Azad Hind Fouj has to be like a wall of granite; when we march, the Azad Hind Fouj has to be like a steam-roller.

'Our task is not an easy one; the war will be long and hard but I have complete faith in the justice and in the invincibility of our cause. Thirty-eight crore of human beings, who form about one-fifth of the human race, have a right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

AZAD HIND FOUJ

'Comrades! Officers and Men! with your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty, the Azad Hind Fouj will become the instrument of India's liberation. Ultimately victory will certainly be ours, I assure you.

'Our work has already begun, with the slogan, 'Onward to Delhi!' on our lips, let us continue to labour and fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi and the Azad Hind Fouj holds its victory parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of India's metropolis.'

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SIPAHL-SALAR

(SUPREME COMMANDER)

Headquarters, Sipah-Salar,

(Head quarters, Supreme Command)

Azad Hind Fouj,

(Indian National Army),

25th August, 1943.

This Order clearly tells us of the intentions, aims and objectives of the Indian National Army.

We have also seen in the previous chapter that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind with its army was a free and independent organization and was only an ally of Japan during the war.

The Azad Hind Government and the 2nd INA had kept their independent existence till to the end.

In the battle fields too the INA fought separately but acted co-ordinatedly with the Japanese Army through Liaison Officers.

It is estimated that the INA was composed of 15,000 officers, and 50,000 of other rank.

INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The portion of the Azad Hind Fouj that was engaged in the battle front of Kohima and Manipur area had the strength of 10,000 men and officers.

Accepting the information of the Prosecution Counsel of the 1st INA Trial, we get the idea of the composition of the INA as follows :

1. Head quarters
2. Hindusthan Field Special Service Group
3. Sherdil Guerilla Group

The Hindusthan Field Special Service Group consisted of

- (1) Head Quarters
- (2) 1, 2, and 3 Infantry Battalions
- (3) One heavy gun Battalion
- (4) No. 1 Engineer Company
- (5) No. 1 Medical Company

The Sherdil Guerilla Group consisted of

- (1) Gandhi Guerilla Regiment
- (2) Azad Guerilla Regiment
- (3) Nehru Guerilla Regiment

About November, 1943, another Guerilla Regiment was formed under the command of Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz who became a Major General afterwards. Gandhi, Nehru and Azad Regiments were incorporated in one Division. Later, two other Divisions were formed. One of the those Divisions was composed partly of Indian prisoners of war and the other entirely composed of civilians, who were mostly recruited from the Indians of East Asia by the Indian Independence League.

Besides those, there was a women's Regiment of the INA known as Rani of Jhansi Regiment under the

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command of Major Lakshmi. There were 12,00 Indian girls in the Regiment, it is estimated. They were engaged in some advance area, did propaganda activities, nursing etc. They were well armed and militarily trained. They wore full khaki uniform, cap and rubber boot. The women of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment fought bravely in the battle fields of Burma.

There was also a children's section of the INA known as *Bal-Sena*. Some of those boys worked as suicide squads with the purpose of blowing up the allied tanks in the battles of Burma. And to do so they used to be prostrate under enemy tanks with mines fixed on their back.

Azad Hind Sangh (Indian Independence League) had to provide the army with recruits, money, rations, clothes etc.

Arms and ammunitions of the Azad Hind Fouj were being supplied by the Japansee.

There were a number of training centres for the Indians in East Asia, mainly in Malaya. A military school was also established in Malaya. Altogether 7000 person had taken training in those centres.

An officers' training centre was also opened. Netaji Subhas Bose sent a number of Indian boys as cadets for military training in Japan.

All the members of the Azad Hind Sangh had a semi-military training. Boys were also trained to fight as squad of guerilla troops.

The method of training was mainly guerilla. The major portion of the army, however was well-trained for open fight.

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There were thousands of volunteers who could not be trained because of the want of arms and training officers.

The INA was fully an organized force and methodical to the detail. It had its own code. But it was short of rations, arms and ammunitions, the greatest difficulty, which could never be overcome.

Early in November 1942, an advance party of 1st INA was sent to Burma. After the arrest of General Mohan Singh an administrative committee was formed to look after rations and discipline of the Army.

In January 1944, the seat of the Provisional Azad Hind Government was transferred to Burma. From there Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose sent Indian troops to fight in the Indian front. On March, 18, 1944, the INA crossed the Indo-Burma frontier. It made its second stand in Rangoon and neighbouring areas where the women of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment also fought bravely. During its withdrawal from India it fell back fighting all the way to Rangoon area.

For the Indian campaign, it was decided that Netaji Bose would take the direct command of the INA as soon as the combined Jap and Indian National Army reached the bank of the Brahmaputra. The Indians believed that they would be able to capture Imphal. But as they had subsequently to withdraw, the plan could not be realized.

If the plan were successful, Subhas Bose would lead at least six thousand men for further march inside India.

The Azadi troops, well versed in jungle warfare infiltrated into the Assam Jungle and hilly tracts under brilliant tactics. Their entrance could not be first

ascertained by the allied troops. They wore almost similar uniform as worn by British troops. Of course there were insignia of distinction by which INA people could recognize their own fellow.

Among the INA units which fought in that area were Bose Brigade and Gandhi Brigade. The Gandhi Brigade was engaged in fighting in Pallel-Tamu region. By the first week of April, 1944 there were seventeen hundred men and officers in this Brigade. But in May, the number reduced to twelve hundred only.

A battallion of the Bose Brigade were engaged in the battles of Kaladan Valley. A number of Azad Hind units along with a number of Japanese troops fought at several places against the Western African troops of the allied army. There were hand to hand fights.

Some five Companies of the Gandhi Brigade accompanied by S. S. troop fought in the Advance area. Half of them attacked the British troops in Pallel, though they were finally repulsed.

Three Company units of the INA were engaged in supplying rations etc. Another company was guarding the Line of Communication.

Shah Nawaz Khan commanded No. 2 Division in Burma on March, 1945. His army fought in Manipur Area. Sehgal commanded an infantry regiment, and a guerilla regiment of the same Division was under the command of Dhillon.

It will be interesting to quote Netaji Subhas Chandra's address which he delivered while he was inspecting Sehgal's Infantry Regiment. This regiment was formally known as Fifth Guerilla Regiment. In the

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Indian Front it was renamed as the second Infantry Regiment and fought as a regular fighting force.

Netaji who was always with army, spoke the following words to the troops in January, 1945. When INA met some set back.

'Last year the INA faced the enemy on the battle field for the first, time. The deeds of the INA were so glorious that they were beyond my expectations and won the praise of both friends and foe.

'We dealt the enemy a crushing defeat wherever we fought them. Without being defeated, we had, as a tactical move, to bring back our forces from the Imphal Front due to bad weather and other handicaps. Now, we have tried to overcome these difficulties.

'But everyone should remember our army is a revolutionary army. We are not so well-equipped in manpower as our enemies are; our enemies have decided that they will fight their first battle for the defence of India in Assam and they have made this area India's Stalingrad.

'This year will be the decisive year of the war. The fate of India's Freedom will be decided near the hills of Imphal and on the plains of Chittagong.

'Last year some of our men joined the enemy.

'I do not want even a single man to go over to the enemy this time when we go to front. Therefore if any one thinks that he is incapable of going to the front due to weakness or cowardice or for any other reason, he should report to his regimental commander and arrangement will be made to keep him in the base.

'I do not want to paint a very rosy picture to you. You will have to face hunger, thirst and other hardship

and even death when you go to the front. Because the enemy has made the utmost preparation, we too shall have to mobilize all our resources.

'In addition to the present slogan of the INA 'Chalo Delhi' another slogan will be added from today and that will be 'blood, blood, more blood.' This means that we shall shed more of our blood for the freedom of forty crore of people of India.

'Similarly we shall shed the blood of the enemy for the same cause. The slogan for Indian civilians who are in the south will be 'Nichawar Subkaro Rao Sub Fakir' (sacrifice every thing, give your all).'

There were 2,300 men in the Second Infantry Regiment. When Subhas Chandra ended his speech with the slogan 'Inquilab Zindabad', 'Chalo Delhi' and 'Blood, Blood and more Blood', the entire audience repeated the slogan in all enthusiasm.

'This regiment assembled at Popa in the third week of March. During that time the Division under Major General Shah Nawaz Khan had its Head quarters at Popa Hill, still fighting a losing battle under the overwhelming pressure of the enemy. They had not sufficient arms and ammunitions, and rations were very scanty. Sometimes the troops had to live on grass. There were no Air support for them. The worst of all the Japanese withdrew hurriedly from the field leaving the INA to its fate.

INA was engaged in active fight for more than one year. It had taken advanced successfully and surrounded Imphal and Moral, Kohima and other villages. It is stated that Shah Nawaz who commanded the army

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invading Imphal was the first to plant National Flag on the Indian Soil.

INA fought seventeen pitched battles and there were many local engagements. Yet inspite of all difficulties, the siege of Imphal was strong and prolonged. But here also the traditional traitor of India played his game. One Singh a Lieutenant betrayed informations to the British and supplied them with INA maps locating the troops' existing position.

The British American Air formations at once started heavy bombing upon the INA men, it was too late for their total withdrawal.

Some INA troops composed in four 'parties' were fighting in the Kohima region under Captain Ajmere Singh. The parties were named as 'A Party' 'M Party' and 'G. Party'. There was also a Reserve Force. A. M. and G. were the first letters of the names of the Commander of each Party. Commander of the first Party was Azmere Singh, of the second the Commander was Muhammad Hossian, of the third, Lt. Gurbachan Singh was the commanding officer. The Reserve troops were commanded by Lt. Dal Bahadur. Each of the A. M and G. Parties was accompanied by a Japanese Lieutenant.

Besides them, there were the men of Kekari Agency, the Japanese Liaison group. They had generally patrol duties. The Intelligent Branch of the army and S. S. Troops were under their direct command. Under this Agency the peoples of all nations concerned, joined together. There were Indians, Nagas, Burmese and Japanese individuals. They were under the

Command of Lt. General Ishoda and Colonel Iyamamoto of the Japanese South Eastern Guerillas.

Throughout the Impahl and Kohima fronts, the supreme command was in the hands of a Japanese General.

INA's relation with Japanese in the battlefield has been discussed in the previous chapter.

In the latter part of the war, the British invasion of Burma began when INA had to engage itself in defensive fight. They fought this defensive war very bravely in Rangoon area, though could not hold it ultimately. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose left Rangoon, but still a part of the INA remained there to protect Indian life and property during the chaos. This was arranged by Netaji himself. The British occupied Rangoon on 19th May, 1945. During that period the INA people were maintaining law and order. All of them were put to arrest and kept under control by the British authority.

The Japanese surrendered to the allies by the middle of August, 1945. Upto that time the INA fought along with the Japanese in other parts of South East Asia.

During his departure from Rangoon to Tokyo Netaji Bose issued a special Order of the day , which reads as follows :

"It is with a very heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the very heroic battles you fought since February, 1944, and are fighting. In Imphal and Burma we have lost the first round in our fight for independence. But it is only first round. We have many more rounds to fight.

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I am a born optimist and shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your deeds in the battle against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and in the oil field area and other localities in Burma will be written in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

Inquilab Zindabad

Azad Hind Zindabad

"Jai Hind".

Sd- Subhas Chandra Bose

Supreme Commander

Azad Hind Fouj.

RANI OF JHANSI REGIMENT

IN July 1943 at Pedang Subhas Chandra addressed a huge mass rally where he said, 'I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying Regiment who will wield the sword which the Rani of Jahnsi wielded in 1857'.

At Singapore the womens' section of the Indian Independent League was formed. It called the above mentioned mass meeting of Indian women, where Netaji asked for recruits for Rani of Jhansi Regiment and Red Cross Units.

In his speech he said : 'Sisters, you all know, as well as I do, the part our women at home played in the Freedom Movement, especially during the last twentytwo years since the year 1921, when the Congress was reformed under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.... Also in connection with the secret revolutionary movement, our sisters have played their noble part. In fact it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of activity, there is no department of national endeavour in which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared along with our men. The burden of national struggle whether it is touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is carrying Freedom message from door to door, whether it is running election campaigns or

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whether it is leading procession along public streets in defiance of official orders, and inspite of lathi charges of the police, or whether it is facing bravely imprisonment and prosecution, insult and humiliation. Nowhere our women have been found wanting. Our brave sisters have also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. They have shown that when need arises they could, like their brothers shoot very well. To-day I express my fullest confidence in you, it is because I know what our women are capable to do.'

Such were the inspiring words he spoke before the mass gathering where women, attended even walking many miles, to hear their beloved leader.

As early as October 21, 1943, the women's camp was started in Singapore after the name of Rani of Jhansi of the Sepoy Revolution fame. She was born on that date more than a century ago. The camp was the starting point of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Many other camps and training centres were rapidly organized in Malaya and Burma.

To these camps poured in number, volunteers of all classes of women, married or unmarried, young or old, all eager to give their mite in the service of Mother India by joining the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, or otherwise.

The object behind the camps and centres was to train up the girls to take up their share and responsibility in the free India and to take share with men in the fight for the liberation of the mother country. For this purpose physical fitness and hard training

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were required. Particularly these were needed for the women of the Regiment. These women were given military training so that they might join in actual fight. Other important trainings, which all of them were given, were nursing, social services and general welfare works. Their other duty consisted in removing illiteracy from among the poor, educating the masses for a new mode of life and manner, and giving them other possible aids. These were their social objective. But their main and immediate objective was to get prepared for meeting the ensuing fight in which their menfolk would be greatly involved. The men would need nurses in hospitals and would ask for other amenities which the women could tenderly and respectfully give. All the girls got that training. But they had to fight too and meet the enemy face to face. Well, for these they were given military training and most of them were provided with arms.

There were training camps and recruiting centres at various places. Recruits from distant quarters used to be sent to the training centres which were however not many. The major part of the training was nursing and social services; the military part of the training was infantry training. It consisted of (1) drill (2) weapon training, (3) tactics, (4) map reading, (5) general subjects. They had to receive training in all sorts of drills required by squads, platoons and companies.

The weapons they used were rifles, bayonets, sub-machine guns, machine guns, revolvers, grenades, swords and daggers.

Their map-reading training included setting and

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finding of positions and locations, salient points, objectives etc. Compass bearing, enlargement of maps, sketching, drawing etc were also the part of this training.

They got training in attack, defence, patrolling, scouting, jungle warfare, battle formations, consolidation etc.

For general studies, learning of Hindusthani in the Roman script was compulsory for them. History, geography, mathematics, hygiene, and lives of great heroes and heroines were also included in the general subject part of the training.

The preliminary training was used to be given for three months. If a girl could stand the hardship and found physically and mentally fit for active services she would gradually be absorbed in the Regiment.

The girl thus absorbed would be given I. N. A. badge bearing the three colours.

The uniform they used for ceremonial purposes were breeches and shirts. For every-day work they wore slacks, shirts, side caps, putties and ammunition boots.

They had to keep in the uniform for the whole day and had to follow strict military discipline.

In the training centres the morning began with vigorous parade of all squads, platoon and companies, all scattering over the parade ground.

After that they used to go for morning washes and breakfast in a disciplined way, all with their mugs and plates in hands. After these were finished they went for training in tactics, marching, drilling etc.

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The training for the recruits, regulars and NCO's went side by side though the grades were different. When this was over, the girls would take their bath and wash, all dispersing in a disciplined manner. At 10' clock, they would take their launch.

In the afternoon, they had to join the lecture classes.

Twice a week the girls had to go for a route march and this march would cover from six to forty miles. For long marches they would take food and mess tins and would cook in the way. They would march in full uniform with their weapons and packings on through the ups and downs of the hilly tracts.

This part of training proved effective when the time came; the girls had to make long marches through the jungles and hills of the battle area, always maintaining discipline in their movements.

At night the girls were free in their camps, all sleeping together enjoying together and speaking Hindusthani.

The girls used to begin their day with the hoisting of the National Flag and singing of the National Anthem.

Then together they would join in common prayer to Almighty God asking for the liberation of Hindusthan for which they were prepared to sacrifice themselves, as said in the prayer. They would reaffirm their pledges too, 'I shall fulfill our objective in the face of all difficulties, I shall sacrifice myself my body, soul and properties all for the fulfilment of my pledges; I promise that I shall not do any such thing which may besmeare the name of Hindusthan and Netaji; I shall obey all the orders of superiors with heart and

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soul; I shall keep in good condition and safety the weapon Netaji has given me,' are the contents of their pledges which they affirm every morning in the parade ground under the tri-coloured flag. They used to do it in full uniform.

Systematic informations and details of their activities have not yet been reached. In the life-sketch of Major Lakshmi and in the Chapter on INA we have noted some incidents of their activities only.

Lately Shah Nawaz has told us in a public meeting that once the Jhansi Regiment encountered a close fight with a fully armed British paratroops. The only weapons the girls had were rifles. With that they inflicted a heavy damage upon the paratroops.

There are instances of pitched battles, the girls fought. They had guerilla activities of wider scale.

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SUBHAS Chandra Bose, the head of the Azad Hind Government and its army, did not suddenly come into prominence. He was one of the acclaimed great leaders of India and was twice the president of All India National Congress, before his secret departure abroad, where he formed the Azad Hind Government and its army. His eventful life is very interesting reading. His indefatigable energy, his bold stands and revolts within the purview of the Congress and outside distinguished him as a remarkable personality. His organizing ability and constructive brain had drawn admiration from other quarters too, who could not however subscribe to his principles and plans of action.

Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23rd January 1897 at Cuttack. His father, Janaki Nath Bose was Public Prosecutor in the Cuttack Court. They were 8 brothers altogether, Subhas Chandra being the youngest.

He received his primary education in a Protestant European school. He joined Ravenshaw Collegiate school when he was seven. He matriculated from that school and stood second in the final examination. Young Subhas had a religious temperament. While he was a second year student of the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1914, he suddenly left the study, became a Sanyasi and travelled in the tracts of the Himalayas in search of the true path of life. There for him he

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found the *path of action*. He came back as Karma Yogi after a short period of secluded life.

He was again admitted in the Presidency College. From there he passed his F. A. in 1915.

As a B. A. student he came into clash with a European professor named Mr. Oaten, whose haughtiness and insolent behaviours towards Indian students provoked his resentment. One day this Oaten gave a slap in the face of an Indian student. Subhas Chandra led a students' strike against this misbehaviour. This proved to some extent effective. Later, again that professor insulted a student. This time a group of student gave him a good thrash as a retaliation. Subhas took the lead. The result was his expulsion from the Calcutta University for two years along with some other students.

After the expiry of the period he joined the Scottish Church College, and passed the B. A. examination with first class Honours in Philosophy.

As a University student he joined the University Military Corps which was lately formed.

Next he went to England to sit for I.C.S. examination.

His patriotic mind was in struggle. He did not like the Civil Service. But what wrong was there in studies he argued within himself; however he passed the examination and held fourth place. He also received a degree on Mental and Moral Science Tripos from the Cambridge University.

He now decided to take up active politics for which his mind was so eager. It was 1920, and the political atmosphere in India was hot. Not a year passed, the

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memory of the Jalianwallabagh massacre was still looming large.

He resigned the Civil Service in 1921. In support of this, he said 'I had passed the Civil Service in England in 1920, but finding that it would be impossible to serve both masters at the same time namely the British Government and my country I resigned my post in May, 1921, and hurried back to India with a view to taking my place in the national struggle that was then in full swing.'

On the 16th July, 1921 he reached Bombay and interviewed Gandhiji in the same afternoon. He wanted to have a clear understanding of the campaign started by Gandhiji, but the explanation given by Gandhiji could not satisfy Subhas Chandra. 'Depressed and disappointed' to use his own words, he came to Bengal where he met C. R. Das. Readily he came under the influence of this great man and took up the path of active politics. About the Gandhian politics of the time he wrote, "My reason told me clearly again and again that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which the Mahatma had formulated and that he himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stage of campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom".

On the wake of non-co-operation movement a national college was started in Calcutta. C. R. Das made Subhas Chandra its principal. The duty of the young educationist was now to infuse national spirit in the students' mind apart from giving other lessons and training.

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During that time, Subhas Chandra organized the National Volunteer Corps in Bengal, a powerful organization of disciplined young men. It was declared illegal in the month of November, 1921, when the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay. The Prince was boycotted, a complete *hartal* was observed and demonstration of black flags received the august personality.

Wherever the Prince went, there were clear sign of boycott. He was to reach Calcutta on the 25th of December. In anticipation of a trouble in that city, the burcaucrocy was very active from the beginning. Their first step was to declare that the National Volunteer Corps was illegal.

But the leaders of Bengal decided to defy that order. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee along with the Provincial Khilafat Committee took up their own steps. Deshbandhu Das, his wife, his son and Subhas Bose were arrested on that account along with many others. All were awarded with various terms of imprisonment.

Subhas Chandra, now, convicted for the first time, got six months of imprisonment. He was realesed on September, 1922.

During that time a devastating flood swept away several villages in North Bengal. Thousands of men, women and children were rendered homeless. Subhas Chandra immediately organized a batch of volunteers to give the victims necessary help. A Relief Fund was opened for that purpose under the presidentship Sir P. C. Roy. It raised four lakhs of rupees.

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About six months afterwards the annual session of the Indian National Congress was held in Madras.

The leader of the Bengal delegation was Subhas Chandra. Subhas Bose, was appointed as the General Secretary of the Congress along with Jawaharlal and Qureshi.

The next Session the Congress of was held in Calcutta in 1928. Subhas and Jawaharlal, now left wing leaders, opposed vehemently the Dominion Status resolution of the President, Motilal Nehru, which was however carried out, inspite of the opposition. The younger group led by Bose and Nehru was now a strong force within the Congress. They stood for Complete Independence and they had a strong support. It is because of their opposition a compromise was effected by Gandhiji's resolution, which stated that, 'subject to the exigencies of the political situation, the Congress will adopt the Nehru Constitution in its entirety. if it is accepted by the British Parliament on or before December, 31, 1929 ; but in the event of non-acceptance by that date, or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organize non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon'.

During this Congress Subhas Chandra organized his famous Volunteer Corporation of which he was the GOC.

Prior to the sitting of the Congress that year, Subhas Bose was busy in infusing his spirit of activities among the people. He carried on whirlwind propaganda against the Simon Commission which arrived in India

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during that time. On May 28, he presided over the Maharashtra Provincial Conference at Poona. In August, he attended the All Bengal Students Conference held in Calcutta under the presidentship of Pandit Jawharlal. In December, he received the President of All India Youth Congress in Calcutta. Everywhere he preached his doctrine of immediate action, urged to take up struggle without delay and to start the war of Independence earlier. He did not oppose the ideological standpoints of the Congress as infused by Gandhiji, but what he wanted was an immediate revolution in the non-violent way, which has already proved a great weapon for the national struggle of India.

In the annual session of the National Congress, that was held in Gaya under the presidentship of C. R. Das, the president himself advocated entry into the Legislatures, but the majority did not accept it. Therefore C. R. Das formed a new Party named as Swarajya Party whose programme was contesting election for the Central and Provincial Legislatures. Subhas Bose worked as his right-hand man. He was now the Chief Editor of the 'Forward,' a daily English newspaper started in Calcutta to propagate Swarajya views. The Party proved brilliant success in the election for which Subhas Chandra's propaganda was responsible to a great extent.

In 1924, the Swarajist captured the Calcutta Corporation. Deshbandu Das was its elected Mayor and Subhas Bose was appointed as the Chief Executive Officer. He was only twenty seven years old then. He showed brilliant managing and organizing

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capacities as the head of the executive and had drawn much admiration from all quarters.

But the Government did not like him. They knew that Subhas Bose was the personification of the youthful spirit of Bengal.

In the mid-night of October 24, the Viceroy promulgated an Ordinance providing power to the Bengal Government to arrest and imprison any political suspect without trial. This was readily applied upon Subhas Bose. On the morning of 25th October 1924, Subhas Chandra was arrested under the Bengal Ordinance. A round of arrests of hundreds of young men was also effected who were suspected as revolutionaries.

The Anglo-Indian papers, the 'Englishman' and the 'Statesman' were up against Subhas Bose. They wanted him to be kept detained, called him the brain of the revolutionary conspiracy and exhorted the Government that he should not be released, on any count.

Subhas instituted a case against one of these libellous papers, the 'Englishman'. Within three month of his incorporation he was deported to Mandalay along with seven other comrades. These eight, according to a Prison Commissioner, were among the most dangerous men in India.

These Bengali state prisoners in Burma wanted to celebrate the *Durga Puja* inside the Jail in October 25. The Government did not permit it. In the next February the prisoners resorted to hunger-strike. The public opinion was too indignant at the Government attitude. It forced the Government to accept the prisoners' demands within a fortnight. The Govern-

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ment agreed to provide the prisoners with necessary fund and facilities for the Pujah celebrations in the future.

In November 1926, the Bengal Congress nominated Subhas Bose and S. C. Mitra, both confined in the Mandalay jail, as candidates for the fresh election to the Bengal Legislative Council. Both Bose and Mitra were elected. But they were not released inspite of the pressure from within Council and outside.

By April 1927, Subhas Bose fell ill, his lungs being affected with an attack of broncho-pneumonia. He was transferred to the Rangoon Jail to be examined and treated by a Medical Board. The Board recommended that he should be allowed to proceed to Switzerland for medical treatment. The Government agreed to this, but wanted to impose some conditions. Subhas Chandra refused to accept any conditional release. Finding no other alternative the Government had to release him without any condition.

So on the 15th May, 1927, he was again at liberty.

About that time Deshbandhu Das suddenly died. Subhas Bose, his right-hand man, was the people's expected leader. He was elected President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

The Congress Session of 1929 was held at Lahore under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, so long a left wing leader, now won over by Gandhiji.

An all parties' conference of leaders that was held in the meantime issued a manifesto demanding Dominion Constitution of India in which Gandhiji and Jawaharlal put their signature along with other right-wing leaders. Subhas Bose refused to sign this. On

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the contrary he issued a separate manifesto condemning accepting of any sort of Dominion Status and the idea of participating in the Round Table Conference the proposed setting of which was announced by the British Government. Others who signed his manifesto included Dr. Kitchlew and Prof. Abdul Bari.

Gandhiji met the Viceroy and again found that the British promises were empty.

This session though important for its resolution for Complete Independence, showed a definite right wing swing as Jawarhlal and a large number of the leftist group were won over by Gandhi. The Congress right-wing was not inclined for any immediate and direct action, which Subhas Bose so vehemently advocated. Because of his extremist idea, he was this time excluded from the membership of the Working Committee of which he was a member since his release from Mandalay in 1927.

In the Lahore Conference, Subhas Bose moved an amendment to the main resolution urging complete boycott and establishment of a parallel Government. He demanded that the Congress should organize workers, peasants and youth, of the country. His amendment was totally rejected.

At the same Session, Subhas Bose moved another resolution in which he urged that the Working Committee should be an elected body and not to be nominated by the President. This resolution was lost by an overwhelming majority of the rightist supporters. Subhas Chandra, with his group staged a walk out in protest and immediately came back to announce that

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they had formed a new Party within the Congress fold, namely the Congress Democratic Party. This Party did not play any important part afterwards. It is however another instance of uncompromising attitude of Subhas Bose and his revolutionary spirit.

1930 was the year of Civil Disobedience movement. Subhas Chandra was convicted under section 124-A and awarded nine months of imprisonment.

Inside the Alipore Jail on April 2, 1930, he was badly assaulted to the state of unconsciousness, when he protested against the warder's ill behaviours upon some 'terrorist' political prisoners. This raised vigorous indignation among the public and the Superintendent of the Jail was transferred to another place.

Subhas Bose was released from the Jail in September, 1930. In the same year, he was elected President of All India Trades Union Congress.

On 26th January, 1931, Subhas Chandra Boss led the first Independence Day procession in Calcutta. Police met it with lathi in which the leader was injured. He was put to arrest with eleven of his comrades but was released subsequently on the gesture of Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

On 23rd March, 1931, the Congress was held at Karachi. Side by side with the Congress session a conference known as Nawjwan Conference had also its sitting there presided by Subhas Chandra Bose. This was a protest meeting of the younger section against the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in which commutation of sentence of Bhogat Singh of the Lahore Conspiracy Case was not included, which Gandhiji was expected

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to persist upon in his negotiation with the Viceroy.

Subhas Chandra also presided over the All India Political Sufferers' Conference held in the same occasion.

In his presidential address Subhas Bose criticised Gandhiji's withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement for which, he considered, the masses were fully prepared.

In 1932, Gandhiji came back from England disappointed at the second Round Table Conference, when a meeting of the Working Committee was called in Bombay. Subhas Chandra was invited there ; but he was arrested on the way under Regulation III of 1818.

In 1933, he was released from jail as he was suffering from consumption, and was allowed to go to Europe for treatment. But in Europe he had no unrestricted freedom. Subhas Bose, however, remained in Vienna. Even in that condition of health he interested himself in the study of the organizations in Europe and carried on propaganda work on behalf of India. Mr. V. J. Patel, the former President of the Indian Central Assembly was also in Vienna for treatment. His condition being worse, Subhas Chandra was attending him in his sick bed. Mr. Patel died leaving one lakh of rupees for the purpose of foreign propaganda under the control of Subhas Bose. But due to a legal manipulation in India he could not get that money.

In 1934, he was invited by the Indian residents in England to preside over the London Political Conference organized by Indian Republican Association. But he was refused permission to enter England. He sent his written address which contained : 'If the Delhi Pact

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of 1931 was a blunder, the surrender of 1933 was a calamity of the first magnitude. On suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement at a critical hour work has suffered and the sacrifices of a nation for the last thirteen years are virtually undone.'

It should be recalled that the Second Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended by Mahatma in May 1933.

At this conference he gave proposal for a new organization to be known as "Samanya Sangh."

On that subject he said in a reply to the British Press that in determining our internal policy, it would be a fatal error to say that the choice for India lies between communism and fascism. No standpoint or theory in socio-political affairs can be the last word in human wisdom. The socio-political theories and institutions of modern nations are the product of their history, environment, needs. They are liable to change and develop just as human life is. 'My own view has always been that India's task is to work-out synthesis of all that is useful and good in the different movements that we see to-day.'

On December, 3, 1934, he reached Karachi by plane, as his father was seriously ill in Calcutta. As soon as he landed at the Dum Dum aerodrome, he was served with an restriction order. He was however allowed to go to his father's place. On the same day his father died, Subhas Chandra was then allowed to remain in Calcutta for few more days.

On January, 8, he started again for Europe as his treatment was not completed.

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During his way in Europe in the previous time he wrote his famous book 'Indian struggle 1920-30.' This book was published in England ; but the Government kept banned its circulation in India till 1939 on the ground of its encouraging terrorism.

During his stay in Europe he visited many places of the continent carrying on propaganda on behalf of India and met many outstanding personalities. Among the men he met were Dr. Bennes and DeValera.

In March 1936, Subhas Chandra Bose sailed for India, inspite of the warning of the British Government that he might be arrested if he tried to land on the Indian shore.

On April 8, as soon as he reached Bombav, he was put to arrest under Regulation III, 1818.

The pressure of public opinion both in India and England forced the Government to release Sj. Eose in March, 1937.

Again he left for Europe for full recovery of health.

In 1938, he was elected President of the Congress Session at Haripura. His services were now recognized. Mahatma Gandhi gave him his blessings.

In his presidential address Subhas Bose did not speak in his usual revolutionary way. He spoke for taking realistic view of politics and urged for more organizational work. He also reviewed the Indian politics with an international outlook.

The next Congress was held in Tripuri, Subhas Chandra again being elected as the President of the session inspite of expressed unwillingness of Mahatma Gandhi, whose chosen man was Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

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All the prominent members of the Working Committee supported the election of that Andhra gentleman. But the Congress delegates did otherwise ; they had chosen in majority the embodiment of the spirit of revolution which was Subhas Bose.

Gandhiji took Sj. Bose's election in the following way : 'It is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat.'

When the result of the election was known and some talks and correspondences that ensued between Gandhiji and Subhas Bose were over, all the rightist members of the Working Committee resigned *en bloc* declaring their inability to work with the new President. The President-elect, then ailing with high fever, accepted the resignation. Now heavy task had befallen upon the President who was left almost alone with a great responsibility on his shoulder.

Inspite of serious illness—broncho-pneumonia, Subhas Bose held on. Setting aside all expectations and apprehensions about his resignation of the Presidentship he went to Tripuri to take up the burden of the Congress and face the opposition.

Pt. Govinda Ballav Pant was there to move a resolution purporting that they must stick to the Gandhian programme and policy and they should continue to work on with the Congress programme in the future, and the President was requested to nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji. The name of Mahatama Gandhi and the influence of the veteran

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Congress leaders caused the things swing towards the rightist side.

Even the Congress Socialist, who called themselves leftists had also turned tail. The Pant resolution was carried by a heavy majority.

Yet the President did not resign. He decided to meet Gandhiji with regard to the future programme and appointment of the Working Committee members.

Subhas Bose wanted to remove the stalemate, so he corresponded with Gandhiji and finally called A. I. C. C. meeting in Calcutta, which was held on 28th April.

In that meeting too rightwingers proved uncompromisingly hostile; they refused to join the composite cabinet which Sj. Bose proposed. Now finding no alternative, the President placed his resignation to the A. I. C. C. He was asked to withdraw the resignation by Pandit Jawaharlal. But Bose did not retract from his decision.

He now found the necessity of consolidating the leftist forces within the Congress and organized the Forward Bloc with this purpose. Its slogan was 'all power to the people'. In the Ramgarh Congress next year he demonstrated his new great move to the discomfort, apprehension and fear of the rightwingers which now dominated the Congress.

His Forward Bloc movement which followed a different line contradicting the compromising policy of the Congress High Command, induced the Working Committee members to expel him from the Congress fold for three years commencing from August, 1939.

He is now not even a primary member of the

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Congress. Yet the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee elected him as its President. The Working Committee therefore had to suspend the whole B. P. C. C. Inspite of this attitude of the Working Committee he carried on in his own way. His struggle did never stop, unless he was kept in check by illness and incarceration.

The Holwell Monument at Calcutta was an object of disgrace to the people of Bengal. He wanted its removal for which he led a *satyagraha*. The Holwell movement was for him a new start for a non-violent revolution on that issue. But he was promptly arrested under the Defence of India Act and detained in jail. The movement, however, had its effect. The Bengal Government had to remove the monument.

A new charge was brought against him for his writing in his organ *Forward Bloc* under the name of 'Day of Reckoning'. During this time, the World War II had broken out. Sj. Bose perhaps thought of taking advantage of that situation or perhaps as his letter contained he resolved to hunger strike as a protest of ill-treatment by the Government meted out to him. 'The Government are determined to hold me in prison by force. I say in reply—Release me or I shall refuse to live—and it is for me to decide whether I choose to live or die—he wrote.

' * * * I shall commence my fast on the 20th November, 1940' he declared and actually resorted to hunger strike as the Government kept silent over the matter.

His condition was getting bad so the authority

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had to release him at last. The cases which remained pending against him, were postponed.

On returning home, Subhas Bose refrained himself from all political activities. In his solitary room he kept in yoga practices, so it was given to be known. Nobody was permitted to see him. During that practice he grew beard with a motive of course.

On January 26th, 1941 he suddenly disappeared from his residence. Probably he had gone to Himalayas as he was tired of wrangling politics. But he did not do so. The great *KarmaYogi*, the man of action, had planned a great project for his future political activities of which the INA was the result.

It is now known that he with beard grown, left Calcutta in disguise, reached the North Western Frontier, crossed the border, then had flown to Germany as it was arranged beforehand. For some months his whereabouts were unknown. Many rumours about him reached Indian. A Reuter message said that as he was flying to Tokyo to attend the Free India Congress his plane crashed off the Japanese coast. As a result he died along with his adjutant and some other Indians.

But this news proved false. Subhas Bose was now broadcasting from Berlin urging Indians to carry on their fight for freedom.

Later he reached Tokyo by a submarine when Japanese victories in the East Asia looked very favourable for organizing a national government and army there for the liberation of Mother India.

We know in the previous chapters how his great

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leadership worked through the INA.

He was not only the great leader of the Indians of the East, he was not only a great commander of the INA, he was greatly loved by all.

It is reported that on his last return from Rangoon to Tokyo via Saigon, his plane crashed in an island. He was badly injured, then died in a hospital. There is reason to believe in this report but INA people in general does not believe it and those who believe the news they cannot remember their great Netaji without tears in their eyes. He won their heart. While his army was at war, he suffered all sorts of privations along with his troops. He used to live among the soldiers, took same food with them. Under him people from all parts of India joined together, there were no distinction of cast and creed, every body used to take same food from the same plate.

His remarkable way of cementing unity among the diverse people, his organizational capacity, his role as a commander, every thing had drawn admiration from all quarters.

While he was fighting for independence from outside, there were some people in India who formed opinion about him; some called him 'Quisling' too. Even Jawaharlal wanted to fight him sword in hand if he advanced inside India.

But when the INA activities were known, Jawaharlal not only greeted him as a great soilder of Mother India, he became now one of his devoted admirer. He now begins his public speech with Azad Hind slogan *Jai Hind* and ends it with these words. Gandhiji says;

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'I have always admired Subhas though differed with him in principle and politics.'

The whole nation is agog with him and his creation INA. He has infused the Indian mind with a new enthusiasm.

The whole nation seems to have taken the INA ideal as its own. The people are getting prepared to begin with the Second War and the Last War of Liberation under the Congress leadership now, and perhaps in non-violent way, but they are going to do this imbued with the spirit of Subhas Bose and his army, of course.

MAJOR GENERAL SHAH NAWAZ

As a part of the celebration of the 50th birth day of Subhas Chandra Bose a very long procession passed through the main streets of Calcutta. Thousands of men and women thronged in eager expectation on both sides of the streets which covered a distance of more than seven miles. The outstanding figure in the procession was Major General Shah Nawaz. When his passing car came into sight the crowd greeted him with frenzied enthusiasm and outburst of joy.

When the procession passed away I found myself walking by the side of a batch of ladies, old and young, when I overheard a middle-aged lady telling her companions the following words : 'Do you know who the tall figure is, who greeted us all by waving his handkerchief? He is the Commander-in-Chief of Subhas Chandra Bose, our king.'

Perhaps the lady's definition was not all-too-correct, but substantially a fact it was.

Major General Shah Nawaz was not only the greatest Commander of Netaji Subhas, perhaps he was most sincerely devoted to him giving himself heart and soul at the disposal of the great leader. He has an idolatrous love for his leader. This intense love has found many emotional and sentimental expressions whenever he has spoken about him in public or in private talk. He sometimes weeps like child when he

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remembers his leader. This man, with such a soft mind, commanded a powerful army and led an invasion into India and planted the Indian National Flag in Manipur.

His unflinching devotion to his leader, his great Generalship and above all his faithfulness to mother India have made of him a rare personality, which is a combination of all elements, that make a man great. He has a literary taste ; he is poetic in outlook ; his diary, which has been captured by the British, reveals that it is more a piece of literary work than a mere documentary of events.

There in the diary he has not only noted the day-to-day incidents and affairs of the time and place but also gave expressions of thoughts on various matters that came in to his mind. There is patriotism, sentiment and his disgusts of the Japanese—all expressed beautifully in a style of his own.

He has been tried by a Court Martial in the 1st INA Trial along with Dhillon and Sehgal and there too he was an outstanding figure.

He fought for the cause of the mother country ; he was a Commander under the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind, and was a General under defined Military codes. He was found guilty by a British Court-Martial on the charge of waging of war against the foreign Government of India 'established by law' but not by moral right. He was awarded transportation for life. *

But his sentence was commuted by the Commander-in-Chief of India and he was set free. It was

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a gesture from the British side, so they may think ; but everybody knows and they do feel, it is the pressure of the public opinion and also forces of the changed condition of India's political atmosphere which has caused the British to change their attitude too.

So Shah Nawaz is free. As a free man, he has been acclaimed as a great leader of the nation also and not only as the hero of the INA campaign.

He has in him all the elements of great leadership. He has a clear political foresight, planned way of thinking and an incisive way of speaking things, to large audience and individuals. His political education is ripe, and he is now prepared to work under the Congress as a disciplined soldier. We believe that he will find his place in the Congress Supreme Command, to use the military term.

He comes of a high family in the Punjab having long standing military tradition. As many as sixty two relatives of him have joined the Indian Army holding high ranks. He himself was a Captain in the Indian army, where he would continue to remain an ignoble Captain if he could not get the chance of joining India's own army. The chance, of course, came when he was luckily one of the prisoners of war in the hands of the Japanese. He joined the Indian Independence League, became one of the military advisers to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, took a command in the Azad Hind Fouj and carried intense organizing and propaganda works before he led his army into the battle fronts of India.

Now I shall quote some extracts from some of his

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speeches, which give out so clearly his political thinking and outlook. In a speech delivered at Rawalpindi on Jan 9, 1946, he said :

"Slavery is the greatest curse of this world. Slave people have no religion, no self-respect. They are looked down with contempt by the free people all over the world. What right has the army of slave people to go and fight for the liberation of other countries, when they are slaves in their own country ? The first and foremost duty of every Indian irrespective of his caste and creed and colour is to pool and exploit his resources and concentrate all his energies for the attainment of Indias' freedom as there can be absolutely no peace without freedom.' 'Once when the British have packed up to quit India', he continued, 'all mutual differences which at present disunite our country will automatically vanish. After attainment of freedom we can still sit together like the members of one family and adjust our differences. Believe that freedom is the first essential requisite for any such settlement.'

Hoisting the National Flag in Calcutta on the birthday of Subhas Chandra on the 23rd January, 1946, he said :

'From to-day every young man should consider himself a soldier of INA, every woman should consider herself as a member of Rani of Jhansi Regiment and every little boy a member of the Bal Sena. If you do, I can say that the Britishers can not remain in India for more than a minute.'

Addressing the INA men on the previous day he said, 'The task we had undertaken has not yet been fulfilled. We will have to continue the work although in

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a different way. Netaji is no longer with us to-day ; but you must not be disheartened. We will have Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru, Sarat Chandra Bose and other leaders behind us. So long we were fighting with arms, now we will fight in a different way under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders, who will always keep you in their minds.'

On the birth-day of Subhas Chandra Bose he reaffirmed his pledge to Netaji which he took before him in October, 1943, on the occasion of the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

He did this reaffirmation standing in front of a portrait of Subhas Chandra placed in the chair on which Netaji used to sit in his study in his residence at Elgin Road.

The following is the full text of the pledge :

'Netaji, on this blessed day, the day of your birth-day, I reaffirm the pledge that I took before you at Singapore in October, 1943, on the occasion of the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I, Major General Shah Nawaz' do hereby reaffirm my solemn pledge that I will always remain a true and faithful soldier of my Netaji and that for complete liberation of forty crores of my countrymen, I will sacrifice my all, and will continue the struggle launched under the Netaji's leadership till the last drop of my blood and until India is completely free. Netaji, give me your blessings ! Jai Hind !'

It will be interesting to know Major General Shah Nawaz's own descriptions of his personal relation with Netaji which he related in one of his speeches.

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It will give us some inside story of Subhas Bose's activities in those historic days in Singapore and Burma and in the Indian front. Shah Nawaz said that when Singapore and other places were heavily bombed Netaji used to go out in those places of bombing. He could not be refrained by any body from doing so.

Once he smilingly said that the British could not invent any bomb, he believed, that could kill him. In some critical occasions he visited the battle fronts and led the army himself. After a long and strenuous fight the position of INA became precarious at the Kohima front. It was due to food shortage, conveyance difficulties and outbreak of an epidemic the condition became serious. Netaji considered that a withdrawal was necessary in order to get prepared again for a future offensive. But the spirit of the INA men was still so high and they were so much imbued with patriotism that they said : 'How can we retreat now ; we have planted the National Flag on the Indian Soil ;' It was on strategical reasons, Netaji ordered withdrawal. So the army retreated according to a plan. While retreating many of the INA men had to die in the way of starvation, disease and exhaustion. They had no lorry, no truck to move back. Shah Nawaz himself met a wounded in dying condition.. The soldier asked him to convey to Netaji that he had redeemed the pledge he took in the front of Netaji, he had shed his last blood for the freedom of his country ; he said that he was proud he was dying for the mother land.

Netaji Subhas Chandra, said Shah Nawaz, was never playing in the hands of the Japanese. The charge made

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by the British to that effect was entirely baseless and malicious. In a diplomatic gathering Tojo said in a flattering way that in the future independent India Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose would be the Dictator of the country. Netaji got annoyed at that suggestion. He said, 'who are you to say who will be the Dictator of India ? Japs have got nothing to do with that. It will be decided by the people of India. Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and Moulana Azad are Indian leaders. I am a servant of India and an humble soldier.' Major General Shah Nawaz cited one instance how in apparently small matter too Subhas Chandra resisted the Japs when India was concerned. The Japanese wanted to go to India first and the INA to follow them in the fight for India. Netaji resisted this idea to taking shape and maintained that only the INA would advance first for liberation in India. Japan would only help them as promised and as an ally only.

In conclusion Shah Nawaz said that the last message of Netaji to India was, as spoken to Col. Habib-ur-Rahaman 'You give this message to my countrymen. Tell them that Subhas Bose till to the last moment of his life fought for the freedom of India.'

Thus we know something of the man Shah Nawaz, of his sentiment, his love and devotion to Netaji and about his political outlook, as he himself tells. Yet there are other sidelights of him which is no less interesting in any way, though very much personal. That is his remarkable tender feeling for Subhas Chandra, his leader. One cannot recollect without a feeling of sorrow the scene of first meeting between

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Sarat Chandra Bose, Subhas Chandra's brother and Shah Nawaz, when they first met in an embrace. The young man wept like a child.

Another touching scene occurred when in Calcutta, he was taken in the sitting room of Netaji in his residence. A large photograph of Netaji was placed on the chair on which he used to sit. The Major General stood in silence for some time looking straight at the picture all while. One could notice tear trickling down his eyes ; but that was not all. He began crying like a child by clasping his hands round the neck of one of the inmate of the house. For several minutes he could not control his emotions. While coming out of the room after seeing some of the things which Netaji used and feeling to the heart the very atmosphere of the room, he clung to the door and wept bitterly, uncontrollably, like a child severed from its mother's laps.

But still he is not a child of emotion as his life and achievements have so brilliantly proved.

Another personal side of his character though less important is his humorous side, which is always revealing in his smiling face. His jokes are laugh-exciting and fine.

While in Calcutta, he was among a number of students who had opened a fund named after him, asked him to contribute to the fund. In reply he said amidst laughter that he had no money to contribute to such an important fund like Major General Shah Nawaz Fund, he could however do it if some body had given him a loan for that purpose.

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To us Shah Nawaz has appeared more charming than as the hero of the INA. The impression he has created by his personal touches has made him more lovable than represented though he is no doubt highly respected for his great deeds.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL LAKSHMI SWAMINATHAN

ROMANTICALLY an outstanding figure in the Indian National Army is Lt Col Miss Lakshmi, the Commander of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. A charmingly beautiful girl over thirty, who was as a civilian Doctor in Singapore, joined the Azad Hind Government and the National Army when she received the call. She is a daughter of Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, a society lady of Madras and a Congress leader who courted imprisonment for the cause of mother India.

As a young lady Miss Lakshmi could be seen driving a small car of her own in the Madras city. She was then known as the number I girl for her rare beauty and accomplishment. She studied in the Medical College, Madras, and took her degree in Medicine and Surgery in 1937 and set up practice in the same city. She was first married to Mr. B. K. Nanjunda Rao of Mangalore, a pilot in the employ of Tata's Air Lines. He flew his company planes on the Indo-Ceylonese Line. But they could not live together as husband and wife. On her desolution of marriage with Mr. Rao she came over to Singapore and met an old friend of her, a class mate, Mr. Abraham, a Syrian Christian. She married him and practiced her own profession in Singapore. This union also did not last long. Now she had received the call of Netaji, joined the Azad

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Hind Government and its Fouj and at once was placed at the head of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

This regiment consisted of 850 women according to the most authentic reports, all trained for active service.

Apart from being the Commander of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment she also held a portfolio in the Azad Hind cabinet being in charge of social welfare and medicine.

The girls of the INA were first organized to work in the nursing service but they wanted to fight in the battle front. So they sent in a representation to the Supreme Commander Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Lakshmi presented the girls' appeal in a written form to their great leader which contained, 'It is you who taught us that there is no distinction between men and women. It is you who gave us training fit for menfolk, have inspired us with courage and moral stamina required for actual warfare. We have received complete training. In this circumstances why should we not be sent to battle front without delay ?' This was signed with blood drawn from the fingers of the signatories.

As the Commander of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment she was designated as Lt Col. When the INA collapsed she did not surrender to the British. She was captured and later placed under arrest. Her Regiment was disbanded in April 1945, and most of the girls were sent away to Singapore from Rangoon.

Dr. Lakshmi and few other remained and voluntarily worked in a Japanese front line hospital. A parachute

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unit of the British landed behind the Japanese line and waited at ambush. When the Japanese vacated the hospital to bring their wounded from the front, the British unit entered the hospital and captured Dr. Lakshmi and her companions and the party marched off to Rangoon. The prisoners were locked up in the Rangoon Central Jail. But inside the jail all the INA prisoners were not at all abiding. The Indians outside also agitated much for their release. Even the Indian troops attached to the British army joined in the agitation.

The British authority had to release her and also a large number of Indian war prisoners. She was released but ordered not to make any public speech. She did not agree to any condition. But the British did not dare to put her again into jail.

October 21, 1945, was the anniversary day of the Azad Hind Government. She addressed a few persons in a meeting in a close quarter ; but the audience at large smelled the scent of it. It increased to 5,000 Indians. Thereon the meeting now took place open doors. She said, the object for which Azad Hind Fouj was formed had remained still unachieved. So the struggle must be continued till freedom is achieved. She spoke violently against the black marketeers, particularly the Indian contractors. It is on black marketeers and people like them Subhash Chandra Bose made a compulsory levy for financing the Azad Hind Fouj. She also said in the course of the speech that while the Japanese have surrendered and at places even collaborated with the British, our struggle

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continued. She said, if she could go to India she would be able to prove that the Azad Hind Fouj was absolutely an independent organization.

She was then residing in poor quarters in Rangoon city, doing practice among the poor Indians and Burmese at the United Pharmacy at the Moghul Street. She was rendering free medical help to former INA personnel and was also in charge of the hospital conducted by the Azad Hind Workers' Relief Fund.

In November she organised a silent meeting as a protest against the Delhi Trial. Her activities did not please the British authority, she was again served with a notice under the Defence of Burma Rules, and was asked to remove herself to Kalaw. On the 14th evening a second notice was served upon her. In the next morning a military Jeep picked her up, took her to Mungaldon Air Field ; then she was flown to Meikitila ; from there she was taken by a military car to Kalaw.

There she still remains an exile, though she is much eager to come back to India and fight in the second round of the struggle for independence.

Kalaw was not unknown to her. She was in charge of an INA base hospital there.

A writer give his impression about her in the following way, after he met her in Rangoon.

'The most feared woman in Burma is an Indian. At the age of 32 she is attractive to the point of rare beauty for a leader who has for her own purpose started a revolution. She lives for the day when she

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may proclaim with her friends the accomplishment of India's freedom. She believes it will only come through open revolt. This is her crusade in which she is admirably honest and sincere whether you agree with her principle or not'.

About her mode of living he writes : 'The most conspicuous thing noticed in her rather barely furnished room is a large two and half feet coloured portrait of Mahatma Gandhi hanging side by side with another of the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. Apart from possessing abundant charm the outstanding impression left on my mind by this charming young Indian was that she had in her qualities of leadership which India needs under present struggle'.

SOME INA PERSONALITIES

MANY a men of the Indian Independence League and INA have come into prominence since their case has been revealed in India. Those who were prominent members of the League, the Provisional Government and who commanded the army, were not few. It is not possible to give life-sketch of every body in this limited space. Information about all of them also is not yet available. The leaders and men who fought for India's liberation all deserve homages from the people of India.

RAJA MOHENDRA PRATAP

Before writing life-sketches of some of these men and women, the first name that come into mind is that of Raja Mohendra Pratap. His name is not heard in connection with the Independent League and the INA activities, but his life-long contribution for India's liberation, and his unflinching work for India's freedom from his banishment in East Asia, should be remembered by all with respect.

He is the son of Raja Bahadur Ghansyam Singh of Sursan. He was born in 1886, he was taken as an adopted son by the Raja of Hathraj and so was heir to his Gaddi. When he was only nine years old, his father died and the management of the State was taken by the Court of Wards. Mohendra Protap continued his studies, passed matriculation and F. A. examination

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and joined B.A. class in the Aligarh College. There he led a strike against the College authority as a protest against some misbehaviour. This caused him to leave the college for good.

At sixteen he married the youngest sister of the Maharaja of Jhind. At eighteen he went to England accompanied by his wife.

There in Europe he studied various systems of education that attracted his attention. On coming back to India he established a new type of University in Brindaban stressing much upon kindergarten and vocational training. The University—Prem Maha Vidyalaya is now a much known institution in India. He established the university at a great sacrifice of money and property.

His social services and charitable works are too large to mention. One thing that was predominant in his activities was the love of Indian culture and way of life. He was from the beginning dreaming and thinking in terms of India's freedom.

In 1912, he went to Europe again, and on coming back took up constructive work on national line through his own institution. When the first World War broke out he again left for Europe with a particular mission in view. India's liberation was the greatest aim of his life, but he kept it secret ; he was only waiting for chance. He expected the war would give him a chance.

In Europe he joined with the enemies of the British, made arrangements with the Kaiser of Germany ; went to Turkey and Afganisthan, spoke to the head of their Governments in order to know whether they would

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help him in India's bid for freedom.

His activities became known to British authorities. They were on watch and look for him and awaited chance for arresting him if he entered India. But Raja Mohendra Protap did not. He travelled lot in Europe and Asia, always one thing in mind, how India's independence could be effected by foreign help.

During this time he was thinking in terms of world federation. He had already started an English journal in Berlin under that name.

When the World War was over and the Congress got a revolutionary impetus under the leadership of Gandhi, the Raja from outside supported the Congress whole-heartedly, and wrote many articles in Gandhiji's *Young India* to that effect. He was so eager for organizing a world federation, for the present an Asiatic federation that he always kept himself busy travelling in Middle East, Far East, and in the Pacific islands. His whereabouts could not be ascertained. Now he was in Moscow, ten days after in Kabul, then in Tokyo, then in Honolulu in the Pacific. Thus he was living a whirlwind life, fighting for Asiatic liberation.

In the later period, he established his headquarters in Honolulu. There he published many literatures explaining and advocating his ideas. Yet for all his life he has been an enemy of British Imperialism in India. To him India's liberation was first, then of course the world federation in which India will be a prominent federating unit. But how he could achieve Independence of India! He sought foreign help, organized an Indian army outside, but the

SOME INA PERSONALITIES

time did not yet struck for him.

The World War II gave him another occasion, but now an old man of sixty with a frail body, he could not take any active part.

RASHI BEHARI BOSE

We have referred to Sj Rash Behari Bose in connection with the Indian Independence League. He was the first President of the League. Later, he was the Supreme Adviser in Subhas Bose's Cabinet of Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Back in 1912 he was wanted by the Indian Police for his complicity in a conspiracy of throwing bomb upon Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India. Since then he had been wanted by the police for being involved in many other conspiracies and bomb throwing cases. He was also wanted for his complicity in Delhi conspiracy for which Abudh Behari Lal and Master Tarachand were executed. But Mr. Bose had always deluded the police. Many awards were declared for any information of his whereabouts without any result. During the 1st War he endeavoured to organize a mutiny in the Indian Army. In 1915, he secretly left India for Japan. From China he managed to send some arms to India for the use of the Indian revolutionaries, but those were captured and confiscated by the British Police. Failed in this way, he took up literary and propaganda works on behalf of India. He wrote as many as five books on India in the Japanese language. He translated the book 'India in Bondage' by J. T. Sunderland in Japanese.

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He settled up in Japan and married a Japanese lady. He became naturalized in that country and was a prominent man there.

Next we find him as the President of the Indian Independence League, reference of which has already been made.

Recently a report of his death has been received.

GENERAL MOHAN SINGH

The man who organized the first INA undoubtedly deserves a historical place in the annals of India's war of independence. We have got little information of his private life. A Captain in the Indian Army, he was taken as a prisoner of war by the Japanese while the British fled like a flock of sheep from before their invading army in Malaya and Burma leaving the Indians to the mercy of the enemy. He was subsequently set free by the Japanese. During that time the Indian Independence League was formed. He was called by the President to organize an army for the liberation of India. He did it successfully with all earnestness. He was also a member of the Council of Action of the League. By the end of 1942 some troubles arose between the Japs and the members of the Council of Action regarding the treatment of Indians in Burma and INA's organization and activities. The Japs wanted to use the INA for their own purpose. General Mohan Singh vehemently opposed it. He along with other members of the Council of Action, resigned from the position as they found it impossible to work under the Japanese intervention and

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interference. The General had to disband the INA forthwith. He refused to put the Indian army at the Japanese disposal. His self-respect, patriotic feelings and above all his bold stand annoyed the Japs so much so that they got him arrested afterwards, as a result of which he could not take any active part in the 2nd INA's war of independence. When all was over, the Japs and the INA had lost the war and Mohan Singh had become a prisoner in the British hands.

LT COL JAGANATH RAO BHONSLE.

Jaganath Rao Bhonsle was born at Tirode village near Santwadi in the south western part of the Bombay Province. He was born in the same dynasty in which the great Mahratta leader Shivaji was born.

Jaganath took his middle education at Santwadi, then joined the Prince of Wales Military school at Dehradoon. After completing his study at that school he prosecuted further study in the Sandhurst Military school in England.

On completion of his final military education he joined the Lancashire Regiment in Quetta in 1928. He was in the Royal Maratha Infantry for one year.

In 1930 he was promoted to the position of a Lieutenant Adjutant. Once he saved a drowning Englishman for which he was awarded a medal by the King Emperor.

He was a Captain in 1937 and joined in the Coronation celebration of the Emperor.

On his return from England he was given training

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for General Staff. When he completed this he was given an important office in the General Staff department.

Later, he was sent to Singapore as a Lt. Col. where he was captured by the Japanese. He joined the INA and was appointed as the Chief of General Staff in the Indian National Army. After the collapse of the INA he was arrested by the British.

He is a married man and the father of three daughters. One of his close relatives holds an important post in the Gwalior Army.

LT COL S. K. SEHGAL

Another important figure in the INA who came into prominence as an accused in the first INA Trial is Lt. Col. Sehgal. He is only thirty. A young man of tall slim figure with a fair complexion, he looks very sharp and smart, this is the type of appearance of a young Captain who always prefers offensive in action against enemy. He was actually a captain in the Indian Army. As a released Japanese prisoner of war he decided to join the INA and joined with a firm conviction. Later he led an infantry regiment in the Indian battle front.

He is a son of Sir Achahruram, a Judge of the Lahore High Court. He graduated from the Dehradoon Military Academy with distinction and joined the 10th Beluch Regiment of the British Indian Army.

In the Indian National Army he was first its Military Secretary and then a regimental commander.

He had been tried like Shah Nawaz in the first INA trial, found guilty, given transportation for life and

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the sentence was immediately commuted by the Commander-in-Chief.

After his release, he along with his comrades had received great ovation from the Indian people and in reply he declared that he had dedicated himself to the causes of India's freedom as it is inspired in him by his beloved and respected Netaji.

He does not seem to be a political leader like Major General Shah Nawaz. He is more a military man with a constructive brain. He is more a lieutenant than a Chief and is rather proud of it.

As a released man he has already set up a constructive plan for an immediate purpose. It is a plan for the INA men's Relief Work. The plan has been submitted to the proper authority.

GURU BAKSH SINGH DHILON

He is one of the trio of the 1st INA Trial. He is a Sikh born of a distinguished family of the community. Born in 1911, he had his early education at the Government Schools of Chunian and Montgomery. After passing the matriculation examination he joined the Indian Army in a non-commissioned rank. But he proved himself distinguished and got commission in 1937. He had further studied at Derahdoon and Nowgong and joined the 1/14th Punjab Regiment. In 1939, when the war broke out he was transferred with his regiment to Malaya. He stayed there for a short period when the authority sent him to Poona for further field trainings.

On coming back he joined his regiment, then

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stationed in the Jungle of North Malaya, where the Japanese made him a prisoner of war. He was set free by the Japs. As a free man he intended to join the Bangkok Conference which was held in 1942. Later he joined the INA formed by General Mohan Singh. Since then he was a devoted soldier, very eager to fight India's war of independence. As the 1st INA was subsequently disbanded and the second INA formed while Subhas Chandra came to take the lead, he became an active member of the new army with a regimental command. He was in that post when INA invaded India. He fought bravely as a disciplined commander, kept integrity of his troops with the same measure of discipline. He withdrew from the battle front only at the order of the supreme commander. He fought bravely on his way back upto Pegu where he was captured by the British on May 17, 1945, and put into jail of the town. On July 5, in the same year he had been brought to Delhi, where he remained in that obscure position for a long time, till he came into lime light by the 1st INA Trial.

Like Sehgal, he has not the metal of a national leader; he is by nature an army man, a great captain who carries and gives orders and performs his duty with all ruthlessness. He was charged of passing death sentence on some deserters, which however could not be carried out. In a statement before the Trying Court he said that he had seen it written in front of his military school, that soldiers must fight for its nation and its liberty. He cherished

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this idea in mind, and when the chance came he took up the national fight, with firm conviction and belief inspired by the said wordings. In that statement he vehemently accused the British who left them in the Japanese hands like a flock of sheep.

His devotion to Netaji was as intense as that of his comrades. He had written a letter to Subhas Chandra on 20th March 1945, which contained—'Not words, only tears could express my feelings. I fully realize that inspite of reasons which may be produced, I have not only failed to do what I voluntarily promised, but have been the only regimental commander to bring humiliation to you and to the Azad Hind Fouj. I have no face to promise again, only my actions will do so'.

The operation referred to was a clash between his patrol and a British patrol near Nyaunga.

Lt Col Dhillon is a married man. The wife's name is Basant Kaur, a young and lovely lady. She had distinguished herself by not only attending the Court Trials every day, which spoke about her devoted affection to her husband, but also for her public speeches, wherein she appraised like the heroine of the past, the deeds of her husband as an INA man. She exhorted other mothers, wives, and sisters to send their sons, husbands, and others to fight for national war of independence when the clarion call would come to thme.

OTHER PERSONALITIES

WE shall mention a few other names, which are not exhaustive, any way. There are many heroes and heroines of the INA who deserve our great respects, but we have as yet little information about them and their activities. The space of our book will not also permit us to write about all of them of whom we know something.

We have already mentioned the names of the members of Netaji Subhas Bose's Cabinet and his advisors. Among them and others are :

Col N. S. GILL. He was associated with General Mohan Singh in the formation of the 1st INA. He has been captured by the British and kept in the Red Fort, Delhi.

Col HABIB-UR-RAHMAN. He was Deputy Chief of Staff of the INA. He accompanied Subhas Chandra on the way back to Tokyo after the fall of INA in Burma. He was with Netaji when his plane crashed.

Major General M. Z. KEANI. He was member of the Azad Hind Cabinet and the War Council.

Col S. A. MALLIK. He commanded the Intelligent Group of INA, which administered the Bishenpur Area.

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Major General CHATTERJEE. He was foreign Minister of the Azad Hind Government. Along with Muhammed Hussain of the personal staff of Netaji Bose he was staying at Hanoi under the Chinese protection after the INA had collapsed. The British on discovery of the fact that they were at Hanoi, approached the Chinese authority to get them back. But they were refused. Then two British officers played a trickery by inviting them for a friendly meeting at a certain place. There the two Indians went in good faith only to be arrested by the Britishers. Major General A. C. Chatterjee was the Governor-designate of Assam, occupied by the INA.

Captain BURHENUDDIN. He is a brother of the Methar of Chitral. He comanded the Bahadur Group of INA and was a ruthless disciplinatarian in the army.

Col MAHBOOB AHMED. Military Secretary to the Azad Hind Fouj.

Col S. N. HUSSAIN. He was in the personal staff of Netaji Bose, commanded No. I Infantry Regiment of the INA.

Lt Col ESHAN QUADIR. He was in the cabinet of the Azad Hind Government.

Major FATEH KHAN. He is one of the commissioned officers who commanded a unit of INA troops in the Indian front.

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Lt Col P. S. PATHURI. He was Deputy Provost Marshall of the Azad Hind Fouj.

Col KALWANT RAI. He was in charge of the Medical Corp. Field Service Force of the Azad Hind Fouj.

Miss BELA DUTTA. She was a member of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Though barely sixteen, the services she gave in those hectic days were unique for a girl of her age. She was in hospital duty in the front area. Incessant enemy bombing on the hospital quarters could not flinch her from her duty.

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THE start for Indian invasion of the INA began on the 26th January, 1944, on the Independence Day. On that date Subhas Bose took the salute of the invading troops.

On January 27, Netaji Bose had a consultation with Major General Shah Nawaz and the Japanese Commander with regard to the plan and project of the Invasion.

On the 4th February No. 2 and No. 3 Battalion of the INA were directed to proceed towards Kalawa. Five days later three more Battalions were sent to the same front.

Prior to this advance Indian National soldiers were fighting in the Arakan area under the Japanese Command.

On the 20th February, Major General Shah Nawaz reached the Kalawa Camp. On the same date two Companies belonging to 3rd Battalion arrived at Pakouk.

Two Companies of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment were allowed to go to the advance area.

So long there was no conflict. On the 17th March, information was received that a number of British Paratroops had landed in Kaladan Sector.

It was on the 18th March, 1944, the INA troops crossed the Indo-Burmese border.

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Now began fight and patrol encounters between the British-Indian and the INA troops. But every where the former had to retreat or surrender. A large detachment of British troops could not withstand even the onslaughts of two Companies of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. On March, 21, the girls marched forward for many miles and met the British troops on the foot of a hill. The Britishers could not realize that the INA men were so near. So they marched forward without any apprehension while they suddenly met volleys of fire from the girl troopers. The British were nonplussed and were about to retreat while the girls charged them with bayonets and surrounded them. As a result the entire British detachment had to surrender to those girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. This victory opened the way for invasion of Morai and Kohima.

During that time the INA troops were placed along the border of Manipur State. There were concentration of the INA at Kali, Kalawa, Keenat and Tiddim. Altogether there were three Divisions of INA troops. Each Division contained nearly eight thousand men and officers.

The 1st Division—Subhas Brigade.

The 2nd Division—Gandhi Brigade.

The 3rd Division—Azad Brigade.

A Reserve force was waiting at Mandalay.

On the 12th March, troops at Keenat were ordered to march to Pallel-Tamu area. Tamu is situated in Manipur on the Burmese border.

On March 20, when those INA troops approached Tammu, they were bombed by a British Flying Squad.

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Some of them died of this bombing.

Besides superiority in air the British troops were no match to the INA men.

On 31 March, the INA entered the plains of Manipur. All the southern part of the Manipur State was now free from the British domination. Imphal was not far off.

By the 1st April the INA along with the Japanese reached Bishenpur which was situated in the middle of Manipur Valley.

Battles were raging on Kohima front. There was the largest concentration of the INA force. The INA had chosen to break through this front and reach Dimapur. The British backbone in Assam would break if they could reach their remote objective.

On the way to Kohima there were two British bases at Feck and Kharasan protected by an Assam and a Burma Regiment. Some four to five thousand of British and Indian troops had already concentrated at Kohima which is the Capital town of the Naga Hills. From Kohima the distance of Dimapore on the B. A. Railway was only forty six miles.

The Advance Guard of the INA reached the proximity of Kohima by the 5th of April, 1944. By the 7th April Kohima was surrounded by the invading army. On the same day the INA pilots bombed the town. There were detachments of the Japanese troops fighting along with the INA men.

On May, 10, the INA entered Kohima after heavy bombardment. Bombing, grenade charges and hand to hand fight—the bungalow of the Deputy

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Commissioner of Kohima was now in possession of the INA, but the entire town could not be occupied still.

On the 12th, they received the news that the water supply of G. T. Hill has failed. This meant the British could not get supply of water. Most of the rations of the British army was seized by the INA in the mean time. The British position turned precarious. Only ration they were getting was the supply by aeroplanes. This was also difficult for the anti-aircraft rifle-fire from the INA side. By the night the INA men advanced further through heavy rain and hand to hand fight. Victory was theirs. But on the 18th April new detachment, of British troops were advancing towards Kohima supported by a large number of tanks.

The INA had no tanks and trucks. Reinforcement was not possible due to the conveyance difficulty. The roads were almost impassable due to heavy rains.

On the 25th June, the table turned against the INA. Kohima had been recaptured by the British. The INA for a long time kept Imphal the Capital of Manipur in a state of siege. But by the end of June the condition of INA at Manipur too became precarious.

Under the order of Netaji, the Supreme Commander, the INA had to withdraw from the Manipur and Kohima area.

During the 1st week of June, the INA attacked the Pallel air base belonging to the British.

The INA had no ration. The Japanese did not help it with any supply. As the INA was badly in need of ration they marched almost empty stomach

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and swept upon the air base. Before the British could make them ready to defend themselves the aerodrome fell into the hands of the INA.

The British had inexhaustible supply of troops, arms and ammunitions. They had received heavy air support always. While the INA men had to fight against heavy odds, they had no supply, no reinforcement, no ration, above all they were betrayed by the Japs. Besides, an epidemic spread in the army which took a large toll of life. All these compelled them to withdraw to the Burma front again.

To the Provisional Government of Azad Hind Netaji explained why the INA had to withdraw from the Indian Front. The reason he said that the INA started the war late. Its work suffered most due to heavy rains. All the roads were under water, while the enemy built up descent roads for themselves. The Indian Army should have attacked Imphal before the rainy season. And inspite of rain, if it had air support, it could have been sure of the victory. Before the rain commenced it marched forward successfully at every front. The INA troops resisted the attack of the enemy. They had resisted him in Arakan area, at Teddim he could not stand before the invading force. The INA had annihilated the enemy at the Kaladan battle field. In the Hakka area too, it had resisted the enemy advance though he was fully equipped with a large number of troops ample arm and ammunitions, and enough ration. Because of the advent of rain it stopped attacking Imphal. The enemy with its mechanised army was

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able to reoccupy Kohima and Imphal Road. The only front that remained open to it was the Bishenpur-Pallel area. The INA troops could have concentrated there. But that was not a feasible project. The other way remained was to withdraw the entire force.

The next step was decided. Netaji considered this failure as a training. The INA men had developed a self-confidence now. It learned that many Indians attached to the enemy declared their willingness to join the INA. The Indian National Army had understood the strategy and tactics of the enemy. Many of his document had been captured. The Commander of the INA. have gathered ample of experience. The defects of the INA had now been discovered. It needed large number of trucks and other conveyance. The line of communication was bad. No successful propaganda could have been made due to those conveyance difficulties. The Japanese were rarely helpful to the INA. They wanted the INA men to fight under their command. This was not agreed. The INA fought in its own particular areas. The Japs did not give any promised help regarding rations, arms and ammunitions and air supoort.

A council of War had been organized with the purpose of a new attack upon the enemy in the beginning of 1945.

The Second Invasion had to be commenced now. On February 21, Netaji gave his orders to Major General Shah Nawaz and his blessings.

The army in the meantime was already prepared for the invasion. On January 31, 1945 Lt Col Seghal

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made all arrangements to start with his Battalion from Prome to Kuack Padaung.

On February 8, he received orders for the defence of Popa Hills. But by that time the British had already crossed the river Irrawady in several places. They were strong in number and equipments. The INA men deliberately surrendered to the British.

On an information received from a Japanese Major, Shah Nawaz sent a contingent of his troops at Mahlaing whereto the British Troops had advanced with armoured support. They were temporarily checked.

On February 14, there was encounter between Lt Col Sehgal's troops of two companies and a British detachment.

A heavy fight occurred at Sa-di area on the 16th March, where ninetyeight INA men died fighting for the war of independence.

Major Dhillon, after describing a battle in his despatch to the Supreme Commander stated that the following materials had been captured in that battle (1) 3 big Bren Guns, (2) 8 Hand Grenades, (3) Some ammunitions, (4) 3 pair of boots, (5) 3 Pyjamas. Loss from the INA side was fifty dead and ten wounded while enemy suffered heavier casualty.

During this time the INA met in many encounters with British-Indian Troops. Though the enemy was defeated in several occasion, he was overwhelmingly strong, supported by armoured detachments and Bombers. The Japanese were only fighting a battle of withdrawal.

The INA's fate in that front was decided by the

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battle of Legyi. The British were in overwhelming majority in every respect while the INA was exhausted to the verge of collapse. The men still fought bravely. To add to that difficulty some cf the companies and Battalions, Commanders with their units, joined the British side. The INA thus failed to its last stand in the North Burma area. The above battle took place during the first week of April, 1945. Since then the INA fought some lost battles and encounters. It had now decided to withdraw to the Rangoon area.

By this time the Japanese resistance in Burma had almost collapsed. The INA reduced to a small army, was now unable to fight any strong battle without the support of the ally, the Japanese. There were no other alternative left to them but to surrender to the British Army.

However, the INA continued its fight upto the middle of August. They made their last stand at Rangoon, but without avail. In Burma the INA men had to surrender.

There were still some INA detachments in Malaya and Thailand. They refused to surrender to the enemy though the Japanese Government had already surrendered on the 14th August, 1945. But those small groups of INA men were no match to the enemy forces.

The INA's first war of independence ended on 18th August, 1945.

THE INA—ITS LEGAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

CAPTAIN Shah Nawaz Khan, Capt Sehgal and Lieut Dhillon had stood their trial by a Court Martial on charges of waging war against the King Emperor, (I. A. A sec 41 against all three accused jointly : contrary to sec 121, of the Indian Penal Code). Other charges consisted of murder and abatement of murder. All the accused were found guilty and awarded a sentence of immediately commuted by the Commander-in-Chief.

We do not know how the Tribunal found them guilty and with what legal supports, but we can best understand that some legal points under the Indian Military Act and Penal Code had been drawn in order to award the punishment. Under those codes they were punished. But If the Defence arguments on the basis of International Law and precedences were accepted, perhaps they would have been honorably acquitted. But the International Law was not found applicable to the case of the Azad Hind Government and its declaration of war against the British and Americans.

A communique in regard to their conviction and subsequent commutation says that, 'it is in all circumstance a most serious crime for an officer or soldier to throw off the duties of allegiance and wage war against the state. This is a principle, which it is essential to uphold in the interest of the stability of any Government by Law established, present or future.'

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These seem to be the main points upon which the trying Court appeared to have stressed and evaded the applicability of International Law.

But to study thing in international legal perspective and on point of legality on the wider principles of truth and justice, it must be admitted that a foreign Government imposed upon a subject people is established by such a Law which is only a legal instrument of unjustifiable force.

On this point only the findings of the Court is not tenable. But the Court perhaps, had stuck to the defined law in the book of code prepared by the foreign authority of India. There we have nothing to say.

Yet apart from justified law if we base our arguments on documented International Law, it appears clear to us that the principles and conditions according to which a people attain the statehood had been fulfilled by the Azad Hind Government whose army was commanded by the accused of the above case.

According to the authoritative book –The Principles of International Law by T. S. Lawerence, M. A. LLD (7th edition), 'State' has been defined as 'a political community, the members of which are bound together by the common subjection to some central authority, whose commands the bulk of them habitually obey. The central authority may be vested in an individual or a body of individuals'.

All available informations regarding the Azad Hind Government and the arguments of the Defence Counsel in the first INA trial have had decidedly proved that it was an established state in all sense of the term and it

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had automatically acquired the right of belligerency as an independent and sovereign state.

It was a sovereign state, because :

(1) Three million of Indians owed allegiance to it.
(2) It had recognized by nine Governments.
(3) It administered territories in Burma and Manipur area. Andamans and Nicobar islands were ceded to it. Though its administered area was very limited, and the administration existed for a short time, yet it had a territorial basis fulfilling a condition of Statehood.

(4) The Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formally established and proclaimed.

(5) It was an organized government with an army, also properly organized and functioned under regularly appointed Indian officers.

(6) The main purpose for which its army—the INA was formed was for securing liberation of India and ancillary to that purpose to protect the Indian inhabitants in Burma and Malaya in particular during the course of the war.

(7) The State had resources enough to fight the war of independence for India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in his Defence arguments said that 'modern International Law holds that it is unnecessary in order to constitute a war that both parties should be acknowledged as independent nations or sovereign states. A war may certainly exist between a state and its suzerain as in the Boer War'.

The Azad Hind State acquired the right of belligerency not only on that point, it was not only an

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insurgent state organized against a parent state, it was by its constitution, position and rights independent and sovereign. It had formally declared war against Britain and America and not against the Government of India. Its mission was to drive the enemy who was in forcible occupation of India—the mother land of those who, through an organized state, had declared the rightful war.

On the above facts and conditions fulfilled, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was entitled to make war against the enemy which it considered as usurper of a people's birthright national freedom. Such a government must be held having a right to make war according to International Law. This Government may take up any action in due prosecution of that war. Their actions do not fall within the pale of municipal law.

'International Law recognizes the right of a subject nation to take up arms and to engage in a war of liberation and that in making such a war, irrespective of whether the insurgent body becomes successful or fails, a stage may be attained when the insurgent body may acquire the status of a belligerent power in the eyes of international law so as to acquire all the rights of belligerency law of nations', said Col. Kerin, the Judge Advocate, in summing up both the prosecution and defence argument in the 1st INA case.

The Azad Hind Government and its army which fought the British and their mercenary Indian troops and their ally America had already reached that stage when they automatically acquired the right of belligerancy under the rules of International law.

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As regards the officers and men joining the INA they were accused of committing a breach of duty of the allegiance they owed to the king in making war. Charges of high treason could also have been brought against them if they were put to trial under the English Law besides the charges of waging war against the Government established by law in India under section 121 of I. P. C.

But from moral and even from legal points too these charges are not tenable against the INA men.

The British surrendered the Indians in Singapore and Malaya like a flock of sheep to the Japanese without any attempt to protect them. In that circumstances they faced with the proposition of saving their country, India, from the hands of the Japanese and were obliged to take up arms to free it. In so doing they were justified according to the international law in throwing off the duty of allegiance to the foreign king in favour of the allegiance they owed to their country.

Allegiance to a king is often all a technical term. The true allegiance of a soldier is towards his own country, and he fights for its defence and glory first.

The duty of allegiance to the king of Great Britain was thrown off by the people of America in favour of allegiance to their country and this was accepted by the British when the Americans came out victorious. It is a similar case with the INA, victory or failure does not matter.

Like the Americans of the Revolution, the Government of the Azad Hind made a proclamation of independence before waging war.

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The insurgent people of America could not be tried and found guilty by the British Court as they came out victorious. The question of trial of the INA men could not arise, if the success would come to them. No Britishers would be in a position to open a court martial in Indian soil, if their regime were gone. It is useless to argue even in the line of international law, when a foreign government established in India by law or otherwise would come to judgment. It is right when Col Keron said to the Court that 'the doctrine of recognition of belligerency in a war that is being carried out by independent states or by a state and a community thereof is considered by nations subjectively and objectively. It is however normally based on what is called, the doctrine of expediency and self-interest of the state concerned.'

This is the only point of basis upon which the British Government of India can judge the INA case and they can take it in any colour under the time and circumstances supported by the 'doctrine of expediency and self-interest'.

This theory as it appears, immensely influenced the British authority in their consideration of the case of the 1st INA trial.

Compare this case with the case of Bahadur Shah, the last Moghul Emperor, who was declared as the head of the sepoys and civilians of the Revolution of 1857-58. The Revolution failed. Many of the leaders of the Revolution who were called to be captured were immediately tried by court martials and exigency courts. They were found guilty and most of them were executed forthwith.

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Bahadur Shah, who was also tried on the same Red Fort where the 1st INA accused were tried, was found guilty and banished in Rangoon for life.

Time, circumstances, expediency, and self-interest all accumulated gave the British in India during that time more liberty to do anything with these accused participating in the Revolution. Their treatment upon those victims were generally drastic and ruthless. But not a century elapsed, the situation has completely changed. The people who waged actual war against the king as the heads of an organized army, were allowed to go free, though they were found guilty. When they were found guilty of waging war against the Government 'established by law', were not made to suffer the full term of imprisonment. Why this leniency ! The only answer—the time has changed. They cannot afford to maintain the attitude of their forefathers who dealt so firmly with the participants in the Sepoy Revolution.

Since the Sepoy Revolution, many isolated cases of waging war against this 'Government established by Law' had been tried and the accused who were found guilty, were awarded maximum punishment for the rigid prosecution of the Law. Scarcely any application of mercy to the Viceroy and to King-Emperor had been entertained even a decade ago. It can well be apprehended that isolated cases will be similarly dealt with for sometimes more. But the Government cannot do the same thing in case of the INA men, in general, though they had committed a very large scale offence by waging war against the king.

The main reason is that immensely strong public

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opinion is behind the INA people. During the first trial of INA officers, they have seen how intensely the Indian people have taken up their cause. Not only the press and platform, but huge rallies and demonstrations have already prognosticated a great revolution, if the INA men were firmly dealt with, the situation for which has had been created for long.

Perhaps the British are not frightened to meet the coming revolution. They still rely on their arms, may be in atom bombs; yet a change of British attitude towards India is evident in the changed time and circumstances. They do not, like their predecessors, want to rule the country ruthlessly. They also cannot. The wiser policy is to come into a better relations with the Indians on their own principle of political futurism of India. After the strenuous years of the World War II they are eager to come into an amicable settlement with the Indians. It is perhaps a good-will gesture on their part as they have respected the people's demand for the release of the INA officers though according to die-hard British and Anglo-Indian opinion, this indicate a loss of prestige to the British. But the British always prefer politics than so-called prestige. It is why they win in the long run in games of war and diplomacy.

The indirect recognition of the INA by the British is a turning point in the Indian political history. They have of course, defeated the INA in the battle field. The INA admittedly could not occupy India. Yet it has scored a greater victory. It has won the Indian mind out right.

THE NEW PHASE

AFTER the August movement of 1942, the INA has given a new impetus to the revolutionary mind of India, the impetus to face death not with a spirit of *Satyagraha* but with a spirit of defiance. This is instanced by the students' demonstrations in Calcutta in November 1945 against the INA Trial and in January 1946 in Bombay during the birth-day celebration of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Subhas Chandra had aptly said in his last message to the INA men that they had only lost the first round of the battle, they must now prepare to fight the second round of the war of independence. Lt Col Lakshmi in her speech in Rangoon reiterated the same view when she was temporarily released. The burden of all the public speech of Major General Shah Nawaz is the same. 'From now' he says, 'every Indian must become an INA man, every woman a member of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, and every boy as the member of the Bal Sena. They have no arms now, no matter, they would fight with non-violent weapons under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Congress, he said.

After the release of the Congress leaders from jail there was a stir. The people hoped that they would get a revolutionary lead for direct action to achieve their goal of Independence. The released leaders particularly Pandit Jawaharlal, spoke in that vein. But the Simla Conference had broken the expectation. The

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Congress again set its foot in the traps of the dilatory tactics of British politicians. The British, now, know it quite well, that they won't be able to check the Indian aspiration for long. Another one or two waves of great movements of the non-co-operation and civil disobedience type may sweep them out from the Indian soil. This is to be checked so long it could be possible. The Simla Conference is one step in that way. The forces of arms may no longer prove effective; they must come in to some terms with the Indians to preserve their vested interests in this country for which they should keep, somehow or other, the ultimate power in their hands. Hence the policy of compromise and negotiation, declarations and parliamentary delegation. Gandhiji, the leader of the Congress, though not even a primary member of it, had definitely delegated his interests in social services and constructive programme. Pandit Jawaharlal has of course, resorted to big revolutionary talks after the failure of the Simla Conference with the reiteration of the slogan 'Quit India.' Lord Wavell gave reply to this, saying, this slogan will not serve any real purpose.

This was the political situation in India till the stories of INA activities were revealed by the end of 1945. The whole nation has received a tremendous soul shaking on the knowledge of what Subhas Chandra did and wanted to do as the leader of the INA. This also has shaken the mind of leaders and caused them to pause for a new way of thinking. This has given a new stir in the people's mind with a direct revolutionary urge. It is against the creed of the

THE NEW PHASE

Congress as sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi; it is against the very ideology of the Congress; it is a spontaneous expression of the people's spirit of revolution bestirred by the achievement and failure of the INA. The first sign of this people's revolution was seen in the August 'disturbances' of 1942. There were no Congress leaders outside to lead them according to direction. The people had to choose their own way—they did not wait for Gandhian sermonisation though they fought under the Congress banner. Subhas Bose and his INA did not deny the Congress cord.

Their National Flag was the Congress Flag. They declared that as soon as they step inside India, they would work under the direction of the Congress. In August 1942, the people did not wait for the orders of the Congress High Command; during 1942-45, the INA also could not wait. The Indians of the East Asia started the war for the liberation of India under the able leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose.

By the end of 1945 the leaders of the Congress have supported the August Movement and the INA activities though with some reservation. It shows the change.

The INA is the turning point. It has started a new phase in the Indian war of independence in the sense that the guiding force of the new movement is the people's spirit. It is the *people's phase*. Now the Congress High Command are not in a position to dictate the coming movement. They have to study the people's mind and guide them accordingly. If they fail to do so, they will be nowhere. The people will choose their own leaders.

Appendix

A

PROCLAMATION OF NANA SAHIB

July 6th 1857.

"A traveller just arrived at Cawnpore from Calcutta, had heard that previous to the distribution of the cartridges, a Council had been held for the purpose of depriving the Hindoosthanees of their faith and religion. The members of the Council came to the decision since it was a matter of affecting religion, it would be right to have seven or eight thousand that fifty thousand Hindoosthanees might be destroyed, and all become Chrisitans. This resolution was sent to Queen Victoria, and received her approval. Again another council was held, at which the English Merchants asserted. It was here determined that the European force should be made equal to the Hindoosthanees Army (in numbers) so that when the contest took place there should be no fear of failure. When this representation (from the council) was read in England, thirtyfive thousand soldiers were embarked in all haste and despatched to India; and the news of their departure has reached Calcutta. The Sahebs of Calcutta ordered the distribution of the cartridges with the special obiect of making Christians of the army, so that when army became Christians there would be no delay in making Christians of the ryots. This cartridges were rubbed over with fat of pigs and cows. This fact

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has been asserted by Bengalees who were employed in the manufacture of the cartridges, and of those who related, one has been executed and all the rest put into confinement. They (the Sahebs) made their arrangements here. This is the news from thence (Europe). The Turkish Ambassador wrote from London to the Sultan to inform him that thirtyfive thousand men have been despatched to Hindooosthan for the purpose of making Christians of Hindusthanees. The Sultan of Rome, may God perpetuate his sovereignty! despatched a *Firman* to the Pasha of Egypt to this effect: "You are an ally of Queen Victoria. But this is not the reason for amity, in as much as my ambassador writes that thirtyfive thousand soldiers have been despatched to Hindooosthan, for the purpose of making Christians of the native ryots and troops. Therefore in this case, whilst a remedy is in my power, if I should be negligent, how shall I show my face to God? And this day (i. e., conjuncture) may sometime or other be my own, since, if the English make the Hindooosthanees Christians, they will make an attempt on my dominion."

When the Pasha of Egypt received this *Firman*, he, previous to the arrival of the (English) force, assembled and organized his troops at Alexandria, which is on the road to Hindooosthan. The moments the soldiers appeared, the Pasha's troops opened an artillery fire upon them from all sides, and destroyed and sunk their ships, so that not a single soldier escaped.

When the English at Calcutta had issued their order for the distribution of the cartridges and the disturbances had arisen, they anxiously looked out for the troops from London to aid them. But the Almighty, in His perfect Omnipotence, had already disposed of this. When the news of slaughter of the army from London became known, the Governor-General was greatly afflicted and distressed and trumped his bed.

PROCLAMATION ISSUED ON 29 SEPTEMBER 1857,
BY A MUGHAL PRINCE

"IT is well-known to all, that in this age, the people of Hindusthan, both Hindus and Muhammadans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. Several of the Hindu and Muhammadan Chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of religion and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present 'Ishtahar,' consisting of several sections, is put in circulation ; it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide themselves shall receive their daily subsistence from me ; and be it known to all that the ancient works, both of the Hindus and Muhammedans, the writing of the miracle-workers, and the calculations, of the astrologers, Pundits and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India. Therefore, it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi Government, by their individual exertion in promoting the general good, and thus attain their respective ends ; otherwise if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent their folly. As has been aptly said by a poet : 'Never let a favourable opportunity slip, for in the field of opportunity you are to meet with the ball of fortune ; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'

No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British Government, ought to conclude from the present

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slight inconveniences, and troubles would continue when the Badshahi Government is established on a firm basis. Parties badly dealt with any sepoy or plundered should come up and represent their grievance to me and redress at my hands; and for whatever property they might lose in the reigning disorder they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi Government is well established.

It is not a secret thing that under the British Government, natives, employed in the civil and military services, have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence; and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both departments are exclusively bestowed on the British, for, the natives in the military services, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of subedar, with a salary of Rs 60/- or Rs 70/- per month, and those in the civil service obtain the post of 'suddar ala', with a salary of Rs 500/- a month, but with no influence, 'jaghir', or gratuity. Under the Badshahi Government, like the posts of colonel, general, commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present, the corresponding posts of 'pansadi', 'punch-hazari', and 'sipah-salari', will be given to the natives in the military services and, corresponding posts of collector, magistrate, judge, sadar judge, secretary and Governor now held by European civil servants of Wazir, Kazi, Safir, Suba, Nizam, and Dewan, etc., with salaries of lakhs of rupees will be given to natives of the civil service, together with 'Jagirs', 'inams' and influence

"Lastly, be it known to all that whoever of the above-named classes, shall after the circulation of this 'Ishtahar', still clings to the British Government, all his estates shall be confiscated and his property plundered and he himself with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death."

C

PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL
GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND

AFTER their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian People fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And, in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddoula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab and last, but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib—among others—the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold.

Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's mental skies to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while—

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but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods—namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920, when the Indian people, haunted by a sense of failure were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi, came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades therefrom, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's Liberation. During the course of this Germany with the help of her allies has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe—while Nippon, with the help of her allies has inflicted a knock out blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also-

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been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home, but are also marching in step with them, along the path to Freedom. In East Asia, in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx inspired by the slogan of Total Mobilisation. And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation with the slogan "Onward to Delhi," on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad—but relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of Freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison, the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fouj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of her Freedom, of her welfare, and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

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It will be the task of The Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's Freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in Final Victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind :—
Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the State, Prime Minister and

Minister for War, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army,

Capt Miss Lakshmi (Women's Organisation).

S. A. Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda).

Lt Col A. C. Chatterjee (Finance)

Lt Col Aziz Ahmed, Lt Col N. S. Bhagat, Col J. Singh,
Lt Col M. Z. Kiani, Lt Col A. D. Ranganadan,

Lt Col Shah Nawaz (Representatives of the Armed Forces).

A. M. Sahay, Secretary (with Ministerial rank).

Rash Behari Bose, (Supreme Adviser).

Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa, J. Thivy,
Sardar Ishar Singh, (Advisers).

D

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY OF
CAPT. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN (1/14 PUNJAB REGT.)
FOR THE YEAR 1944.

January 7—Called on C-in-C Nippon Force.

January 26—Netaji inspected our troops at Field Firing practice.
Major Ram Sarup posted to my regiment.

January 27—Dinner with Maj. Kimewari 1900 hrs. called on Supreme Comd. Nippon Forces, and received orders for the final move towards India.

February 4—First parties of No. 2 and 3 Bns. moved to Kalewa front.

February 5—Regiment H.Q. moved off from Rangoon at 1800 hrs.

February 9—Three parties of our Regiment have arrived safely.

February 10—More troops have arrived by train without incident. Went to Maymaya with Kimewari and Ram Sarup to call on Japanese G.H.Q. Maymaya. ,

February 11—Called on the G.O.C. North Burma Genl. Moto Cuchi—a great soldier and conqueror of Bukit Tinah Hill. He was very kind and promised full aid to the I.N.A.

February 12—Met Mr. Jamman Khan of Hazro, Taj's relative. Left for Mandalay. Kimewari left for Kalewa by Bus. I could not start owing to car trouble. Addressed the M. T. Coy. They were all in great spirits. Many of them volunteered to go forward with the Regiment. Received Netaji's message of congratulations to I.N.A. troops re. Arakan Operations.

February 20—. Enemy aeroplanes M. Gd. The troops nearby. Hoping to move to Kalewa. The lorry has not yet returned. Left Mutaik and arrived at Kalewa Camp. Ram Singh with approximately 500 men left for Falaur. Two Coys. of 3rd Bn. left Mandalay for Pakouk.

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March 12—Three Bn. less 2 Coys. at Pakouk has arrived at Kyigow. Went and saw Fujwara again. Move of 3 Bn. to Tiddim is postponed as it has nearly fallen.

March 17—Information received that 200 soldiers from Tiddim are running away and are now at Kalangkua—west of Talam—approximately 60 miles—ordered Ram Singh there and Sikander to catch them. Tried Nk. Mangal Singh and two Sepoys of Parwana Coy. At hours 1930 a formation at Br. Bombers and fighters 28 in all came and dropped some parachutists in Kalewa area.

March 22—Left post 5 at 0930 hours. On the way to Post 6 heard the news that Awai had captured 22 chin soldiers to Maj. Manning's party.

March 26—Received Major Thakur Singh's letter. He is very disappointed at the type of work our soldiers have to do and the treatment of Japanese.

March 30—Boobie returned from Kennedy Peak. His report distressing. The Japanese are using INA Crack Regt. as labourers. I am going to Haka to-day to see Kimewari in this connection. I wonder what is going to be the outcome.

April 1—Went to inspect post on Klang Klang Rd.

April 3—Inspected camp-piquets near Haka Sabak and had a frank talk with Kimewari re : the manner in which the Regt. is being used, i.e. mere as labourers.

April 7—Stayed at Falam. Sent movement order to Jangju to move to Haka. Called up Commandars.

April 8—Comds. Jangju and Dipak arrived and recd. Orders. Posts except B.H.R. at 28 M.S. closed.

April 11—Jangju closed at Falam. Dipak went back to Nauchang. Moving forward with LAJO to-morrow. Completing preparations.

April 14—Klang Klang post fired at by the enemy.

April 16—At 0830 hrs. Klang Klang post was fired at by the enemy. He used motors to-day. Lt. Lehna Singh very bravely chased him up to Nengrang.

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Enemy Strength :—70 Soldiers, 13" mortar, 13" mortar, 5' Arm. Guns.

April 23—Went out to raid Nengrand and Klang Klang captured 3 and killed 3 Chin's Lehna Singh's Pl. was first class—Amrit Ram Sarup were also with me.

April 26—I Chin prisoner escaped from H. Kikan.

April 28—Order received from the Div. that the Regt. has to stay Haka till fall of Imphal.

May 10—Issued orders for raid on Kalang to all Commanders.

May 12—For rescue towards Nengrang, 28 miles of the worst . . .

May 13—Kimewari left for Muitha Haka. I am afraid I have to miss the raid. Issued orders to move to Ukhral.

May 21—Arrived Tamu at 0300 hours. Went and saw Maj. Faujiwara and Div. Com. Met Khan and stayed in his dugout.

May 24—Left Morehat night and arrived in Humine.

June 4—Reached M. S. 30 and spent the night there. Met Comd. Let Div. at 1600 hrs. Role of the Div. has been changed. They are now going to participate in fight for Imphal . . . Div. Comd. has given me a chance to select to our role in the coming operations. Of course, my choice is 'Attack Imphal' . . .

June 14—Stayed in Camp. Sent out rice collecting parties to villages.

June 27—Kimewari went to G. H. Q. to take orders. Men did not receive any rations. 4 Ghawallis have died of starvation. I and Ram Sarup approached Hikari Kihan to do something about the rations. They seem NOT to take the least notice of it

July 15—Due to starvation men are dying like flies. Some committing suicide. Japanese are giving no help.

August 8—Piara's return from Yawa with Kimewari's answer. No arrangement for money or other help from him. He has suggested that our sick men at Teraun should commit suicide.

EXCERPTS FROM THE OFFICE REPORT SUBMITTED
BY CAPT P. K. SEHGAL RE : LEGYI OPERATIONS

Most Secret
No. 599 Unit A. H. F.

Secret
Dated 6th April, 1945.
No. 747 Unit. A. H. F.

Sub : Legyi Operations.

In continuation of this office report forwarded under No. S/25/I7/G, dated 2nd April, 1945, a report called for under your No. 2/XX/G, dated 6th April 1945, is forwarded herewith :—

1st April 1945 :—A Nippon Platoon stationed on hill feature 1395 astride Seiktin-Welaung road sent the following report about the enemy movements :—

(i) At 1130 hrs. 10 enemy tanks with 50 men were seen going towards Legyi from Welaung.

(ii) At 1530 hrs. 18 lorries, 2 tanks, 1 armoured car, 2 motor cycles and 2 guns were seen moving towards Legyi from Welaung. Out of these 11 lorries were Stores and 7 lorries carried approximately 80 men.

(iii) At 1600 hrs. 1 tank was seen moving towards Legyi. All the tanks in the above-mentioned enemy force were medium tanks. This force was seen passing the road Nullah junction Pt. IO62 south of Seiktin map sheet 84 O/8 but no enemy was observed in the vicinity of Legyi and it was not clear whether the enemy were contemplating an attack on Legyi or whether he intended to go through Seiktin towards Kabyu

One Recce patrol under S. O. Ram Dutt of 546 Unit was sent to Tada to bring back information about the enemy in that area. This patrol did not return by day-break on 2nd April, 1945.

2/Lt. Gharib Singh, Mortar Pl. Comdr. of 546 Unit deserted during the night

2nd April 1945 :—(i) An enemy force between 500 to 1000 strong was seen in the vicinity of the cross. 1130 hrs. road on the 25 mile stone, Welaung-Seiktin road. There were a few motor cycles with this force.

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(ii) Another enemy force about 1000 strong and some tanks were seen in the vicinity of the Nullah North East of the cross road at the 25 mile stone, Welaunng-Seiktin road

1310 hrs. 13 enemy planes heavily bombed and machine gunned Legyi for about 40 minutes

1600 hrs. (iii) 3 enemy tanks were seen passing Thanbn village and 3 lorries, 1 gun and 40 men were seen under the palm trees in the vicinity of Thanbin

1700 hrs. (iv) An enemy force in 6 lorries supported by tanks moved toward Seiktin and Legyi When the enemy came within range, 1 section of machine gun opened fire. A number of the enemy were seen falling down and the remainder disappeared into the Nullah One of our machine guns was fired was fired personally by Lt. Yasin Khan, the M. G. Coy. Comdr

2200 hrs. (v) Lt. Yasin Khan Lt. Mohammad Sadiq S. O. Abdul Hakim with some N.C.O.S. and men deserted.

2300 hrs. (vi) S. C. Ram Dutt and his men who had gone on patrol duty to Tada area, the previous day returned and reported that there was no enemy in Tada area and that Seiktin was clear of the enemy.

(vii) It was quite apparent that the enemy during the day, had been reconnoitring and feeling our positions and that a full scale attack was imminent the next day, therefore I Coy. from 548 Unit under the command of 2/Lt. Kanwal Singh was brought up and put up into position on the right flank.

3rd April 1945 :—A great deal of alarm and despondency was observed among the officers and men, owing to the desertion of Lt. Yasin Khan and his companions on the previous night Lt. Khazin Shah was also in a very bad state of nerve. I realised that he was not fit to command the battalion any more, therefore, I sent him to keep an eye on a Coy. Comdr. whose movements were also suspicious and I personally took over the direction of the battle.

1130 hrs.—(i) An enemy force composed as under was seen moving towards Tasbaukkon and his forward elements has already reached Thanbin : Medium tanks—13, Light tanks—30, Lorries—60, Guns,—more than 10, Infantry—1000.

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This report was given by a Nippon C.P. which was in Legyi village area and it was confirmed by Comdr. C. Coy. which was the left forward Coy. 546 unit. Later a part of this force was seen to be returning towards Seiktin and a large number of troops were seen debussing in the Nullah, North-East of Seiktin. A group of officers was observed carrying out recee and issuing order under a palm-grove on the right of the road, about 2 miles in front of our positions.

1200 hrs. (iii) Enemy artillery opened harassing fire on our positions.

1300 hrs. (iv) An enemy force consisting as under was seen advancing along the road towards Legyi :—

Medium tanks—II, Armoured cars—30, Lorries—60.

This force halted about 1000 yards in front of our position and deployed.

1330 hrs. (v) A small force of the enemy went round our right flank and attacked our 'B' Echelon. This was a complete surprize and our men were caught cooking food or carrying ammunition, rations and water

1345 hrs. (vi) Heavy shelling on the right flank followed by an enemy attack by approximately one Battalion on the position occupied by one Coy. of 548 Unit. The place was gallantly defended by the Coy. and the enemy was pushed back after suffering heavy casualties.

1400 hrs. (vii) Approximately 1 platoon of the enemy opened light automatic and mortar fire in our position from the high ground astride the road in our rear. This fire was returned and the enemy was dislocated from his position.

1600 hrs. (viii) Enemy artillery opened rapid fire on the right flank and he continued fire for appoximately 10 minutes. . . . This coy. once again defended their position most gallantly and drove the enemy back, who after suffering heavy casualties, fled in disorder.

During the whole of this operation 2/Lt. Kanwal Singh, the Coy, Comr. and Havl. Abdul Manan, one of the Pl. Comdrs. stood on top of 2 hills and directed the fire of their units. These two brave officers did not stir from their command posts, even

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when the enemy small arms fire was concentrated on them. It was due mainly to the gallant action of these 2 officers that the enemy was beaten off

I decided to withdraw back into reserve C Coy. of 546 Unit which was on the left of the road. Accordingly I approached the Nippon Coy. Comdr. in that area and requested him to assume the responsibility of stopping an enemy penetration from that side and linking up with B Coy. of 546 Unit which was covering our left flank. This plan was agreed to

1900 hrs. (ix) Report received about the enemy attack on our B Echelon and the enemy occupation of that area. Orders issued for C Coy. to attack and drive the enemy away from that area. When these orders were issued, Lt. Khazin Shah reported to me that there was only one PL. of C Coy, available. The other two platoons under their commanders, S. S. O. Barifi Ram and Hav. Baldev Singh came running towards them and after a short conversation with the two platoon commanders, these 2 platoons and one mortar platoon went over to the enemy. This matter was reported to Lt. Khazin Shah by a Tamil soldier, who managed ato get back.

I issued orders to withdraw one pl. from A Coy. and 2 sections from 2/Lt. Kanwal Singh's Coy. this together with one pl. of C. Coy. under command of Lt. Ganga Singh was to immediately attack the enemy in our B Echelon area . . . The attack was supported by 2/Lt. Kanwal Singh's Coy. The section of 2/Lt. Kanwal Singh's Coy. did not arrive in time but the attack was launched by two pls. at 2100 hours, and was completely successfull. The enemy after suffering heavy casualties fled in disorder.

1930 hrs. (x) Heavy artillery fire on our right flank and rear and 2/Lt. Kanwal Singh's Coy. was attacked for the third time and once again the attack was beaten off.

2100 hrs. (xi) Enemy force about two Coys. strong accompanied by tanks moved towards the left flank of B. Coy. of 546 Unit which was covering our left flank but this force was pushed back after a short skirmish.

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2130 hrs. (xii) Report received that the enemy had been completely cleared from B Echelon area and that the attacking gp. under Lt. Ganga Singh had occupied a position on the hills astride the road south of Legyi.

(xiii) Report received that Lt. Khazin Shah with whole of his Bn. H. Q. and one pl. of A Coy. under S. O. Abdullah Khan had deserted. This matter was intimated to 53I Unit and it was requested that reinforcement should be despatched immediately. Major A. B. Singh from 53I Unit informed me that one Coy. of 548 Unit under Major B. S. Negi was moving to reinforce Legyi.

(xiv) Report received that Lt. Ganga Singh, 2/Lt. Aya Singh and 2/Lt. Narindar Singh had deserted One Coy. of 548 Unit had fought most gallantly the whole day and by now was completely exhausted. The men had lived on biscuits and one bottle of water for 24 hours and were completely overcome by thirst and fatigue and were not in position to stand another onslaught by the enemy.

4th April 1945—(i) I Co. of 548 unit with I Section of M. Gs. under Major B. S. Negi arrived. They had left the road well clear off Legyi and approached our position from the east. They were heavily fired on by the enemy, but luckily suffered no casualties

I sent for the Nippon Coy. Commander to consult him about our future action. He reported to me that another Bn. of his Regiment was moving up to occupy that position.

I decided to withdraw my tps. on the arrival of Nippon B.

(ii) I issued orders that on arrival of the Nippon Bn. the INA Unit in Legyi area were to fight their way eastwards. Soon after I issued these orders, I discovered that the enemy had left the road and that the road between Legyi and Popa was clear. Therefore, I altered the original orders and issued instructions to withdraw along the road.

0430 hrs—(iii) I received the information that the Nippon Bn. had arrived.

0500 hrs—(iv) Withdrawal was commenced and carried out without any casualties.

